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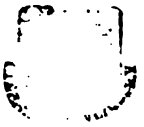

OF

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BY DAVID LAING.

VOLUME FOURTH.

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A NARRATIVE

OF THE PROCEEDINGS AND TROUBLES OF THE ENGLISH CONGREGATION AT FRANKFURT ON THE MAINE.

M.D.LIV.—M.D.LV.

AFTER Queen Mary's accession to the throne of England, when the old forms of religious worship were restored and rigorously enforced, no inconsiderable number of Protestants, including many of the most learned and faithful ministers, had taken refuge in various parts of the Continent. Of these English exiles, several came to Frankfurt on the Maine in June 1554; and having formed themselves into a congregation, they obtained from the Magistrates a right for themselves, and for such of their countrymen as should afterwards unite with them, to the joint-use of the French Protestant Church in that city. In their desire to have the benefits of stated religious instruction, they agreed to give a call to two or three "grave, godlie, and learned ministers, of like authoritie,[1] as is accustomed in the best Reformed churches."

In thus obtaining the accommodation of a place of worship, there was this condition annexed by the Magistrates, that the service should be conducted as nearly as possible to that of the French Church, which corresponded closely with the forms practised at Geneva. Letters were then addressed to their countrymen at Zürich, Strasburg, and other places, inviting them to avail themselves of this privilege by joining their congregation; but from these places a decided opinion was expressed against any other forms being used than the Book of Common Prayer, as set forth by Edward the Sixth. Knox, who had accepted the call to become one of their ministers, and had arrived at Frankfurt in October 1554, with other members of the congregation, having objections to several of the "unprofitable ceremonies" in that form of service, it was

[1] Of like, or, of equal authority.

resolved that a summary of the English Prayer Book should be prepared, and translated into Latin, for the purpose of being submitted to Calvin for his opinion; and he was informed that some of their brethren were desirous to enforce its use, and to admit of no change. This appears to have been in January 1555. His letter to Knox and Whittingham in reply is well known, and is also introduced into the following Narrative.

In the "Brieff Discours off the Troubles begonne at Franckford," which was first published in the year 1575, a minute and interesting account is given of the various proceedings which took place in consequence of the dissensions that ensued, in regard to the use of the surplice, the omission of the litany, the audible responses, and kneeling at the communion. It would seem that Knox had rendered himself obnoxious to Dr Richard Coxe, who had been Edward the Sixth's preceptor, and to the other persons who were most clamorous for a strict adherence to the English Book of Prayer; and finding that he was supported by the chief body of the congregation, in March 1555 they endeavoured to procure his disgrace by lodging information with the Magistrates, that in his "Faithful Admonition," published in 1554, he had used treasonable language, in speaking of the Emperor, the Queen of England, and her husband Philip the Second of Spain. In this object they were but too successful, and Knox, on the 26th of March 1555, having taken an affectionate leave of his brethren, returned to Geneva.

The "Brief Discourse" was published without the name of the author. Of the entire work, there are three republications.[1] According to Bishop Bale, John Mackbray or Macbrair,[2] one of the preachers at Frankfurt, wrote an account in Latin of the beginning and progress of the English Church in that place. In the recent edition, the publisher, Mr Petheram, avails himself of a communication from Dr M'Crie, in which various reasons

[1] See page 8.

[2] Script. M. Brit. Cent. xiv. p. 229 A brief notice of Mackbray is given in the Appendix to vol. i., p. 529.

are assigned for attributing the work to William Whittingham, who had taken a leading share in the proceedings narrated. Indeed, the internal evidence in favour of Whittingham being the author is all but conclusive. He was one of Knox's colleagues both at Frankfurt and Geneva, and afterwards became Dean of Durham in July 1563, his Puritan notions in all probability being the cause of excluding him from higher preferment in the Church of England. He survived till the 10th of June 1579.[1]

The following Narrative consists of extracts from the earlier portion of the "Brief Discourse," and ought perhaps to have been reserved for the Appendix to this volume, as it was not actually written by Knox. But these extracts require to be more prominently brought forward, as they contain the letter from the English exiles, in September 1554, giving him a call to the ministry in that city; and while they serve as a connecting link in his history, they form the most suitable introduction to his own Narrative of the charges which some of his fellow-exiles brought against him, and which led to such an abrupt termination of his ministerial labours at Frankfurt.

Of the subsequent proceedings of the Frankfurt congregation after Knox's departure, the detailed account contained in the "Brief Discourse" is illustrated by many of the Zürich letters recently published by the Parker Society. But it may be remarked, that as the adoption of an Order of Service, different from that of the Book of Common Prayer, was resolved upon previously to Knox's arrival in Frankfurt, so his removal from that place did not produce the effect of terminating the troubles of the English exiles in reference to this subject. For upwards of two years these dissensions still continued. Early in 1556, when "Maister Whithead gave up of his own good

[1] Willis's Cathedrals, p. 253, Wood's Athenæ Oxon., by Bliss, vol. i. p. 446, and Note AA. in M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 432. In the article, "The Marian Exiles," which contains much valuable information on the subject, in the Edinburgh Review for April 1847, some interesting extracts are given from a MS. Life of Whittingham, preserved among Wood's MSS., in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

will, as he saide, the pastorall office," and Horne was appointed, the latter speaks "of the now almost ruined Church of our exiles at Frankfort;[1] and the author of the "Brief Discourse" says, "from whiche tyme forward the troubles and contentions were so sore amonge them, that who so shall well waie it with due consideration, I ween he shall think it to be the juste judgement of our righteous God that fell upon them, for supplantinge a churche there before them in great quietnes and of muche sinceritie."[2]

The short Narrative by Knox, which he intended to enlarge and publish in his own defence, has been preserved by the historian Calderwood, and is inserted in the existing portion of his larger manuscript deposited in the British Museum. Upon revising his History, in 1627, in its more condensed form, as recently published by the Wodrow Society,[3] and likewise in his later recension in 1636, Calderwood thought proper to abridge Knox's statement, omitting several important particulars which are not elsewhere to be found. True it is, Knox himself, when engaged upon his History of the Reformation, alludes in general terms to the cause of his leaving Frankfurt,[4] and says he deemed it advisable to suppress any minute details, and to withhold the names of the parties who were chiefly concerned in accusing him to the civic authorities. The subsequent publication of the "Brief Discourse" might have obviated any such scruples had he then been alive; and there seems at least no reason for now withholding the names of such men as Lever, Bale, Turner, Jewell, and Coxe; as it only affords a proof of the extent to which party zeal or personal feelings will lead men of such undoubted worth.

[1] Zurich Letters, p. 128.

[2] "A Brieff Discours," &c., p. lxii.

[3] Edinburgh, 1842–1849, 8 vols. 8vo. In vol. viii. pp. 127–132, an account is given of the several MSS. of Calderwood's History.

[4] See vol. i. p. 232.

A Brieff discours

off the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany Anno Domini 1554. Abowte the Booke off off common prayer and Ceremonies / and continued by the Englishe men theyre / to thende off Q. Maries Raigne / in the which discours / the gentle reader shall see the very originall and beginninge off all the contention that hathe byn / and what was the cause off the same.

Marc. 4.

For there is nothinge hid that shall not be opened neither is there a secreat but that it shall come to light / yff anie man haue eares to heare / let him heare.

M. D. LXXV.

The original edition of the "Brief Discourse" is in 4to, black letter, pp. cclxv. The pages are all marked with numeral letters in the middle of the page. It has no place or printer's name, but was evidently printed abroad, with the same types as Cartwright's and the Martin Mar-Prelate Tracts, and, it is supposed, at Geneva. In the following extracts, the orthography, in a few instances, such as "off," of, and "bin," been, have been corrected. The passages extracted are from pages v., xiii., xvi., xix. to xlv. inclusive; that at p. 50, from p. lviii.

The "Brief Discourse" has been reprinted on three several occasions:—

1. "A Briefe Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankeford in Germany, An. Dom. 1554, &c. First published in the yeare 1575, and now Reprinted according to the original Copy, *Verbatim*. Humbly Presented to the View and consideration of the most Honourable and High Court of Parliament; And the Reverend Divines of the intended ensuing Assembly. London, Printed by G. Bishop, and R. White, for Tho: Underhill, and are to be sold at the signe of the Bible in Woodstreete. 1642." 4to, pp. [viii.] and 184.

2. "A Brief Discourse of the Troubles," &c., pages 44 to 203 of "The Second Volume of The Phenix: or, a Revival of Scarce and Valuable Pieces, no where to be found but in the Closets of the Curious." London, Printed for J. Morphew, 1707, 1708, 2 vols. 8vo.

3. "A Brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort, in the year 1554, about the Book of Common Prayer and Ceremonies. Reprinted from the Black-Letter Edition of 1575, with an Introduction. London: John Petheram, 71 Chancery Lane. M.DCCC.XLVI." Small 8vo, pp. xiv. and cclxv. Since this republication, a copy of the original has been discovered by Mr Petheram with the date M.D.LXXIV.

A NARRATIVE

OF THE TROUBLES AT FRANKFURT.

AFTER that yt had pleased the Lorde God to take awaie for our synnes that noble prince of famous memorie, Kinge Edwarde the Sixthe,[1] and had placed Queene Marie in his roume; sundrie godly men, aswell strangers as of the English nation, fledd, for the libertie of their consciences, over the seas, some into France, some into Flanders, and some into the High Countries of the Empire: And in the yere of oure Lorde 1554, and the 27. of June, came Edmonde Sutton, William Williams, William Whittingham, and Thomas Wood, with their companies, to the citie of Franckford, in Germany; the firste Englishe men that there arrived to remaine and abide. The same night came one Maister Valaren Pullan,[2] minister, unto their lodginge, and declared howe he had obtained a churche there, in the name of all suche as shuld come owte of Englande for the Gospell; but especially from Glassenbury, whiche were all Frenche men. Answere was made him, that as God was to be praised, who had moved the Magistrats hartes to shewe the Frenche suche favour, evenso, for so muche as fewe of them understoode the Frenche tonge, it woulde be small commoditie to them, or to suche as shulde come afterwarde, to joyne themselves to that Churche.

The nexte daye they communed with Maister Morellio, another minister of the Frenche churche; and also with Maister Castalio, a senior of the same, (bothe of them godly and lerned men). By their advise and counsaile it was determined, that

[1] He died on the 6th of July 1553.

[2] See notice of Pullan or Pollanus, and of the church at Glastonbury, in England, *infra*, p. 42.

a Supplication shulde be drawen out, and offered to the Magistrats, to knowe, firste, Whither they woulde be contented, that not onely the parties before named, but also all other Englishe men that woulde repaire thither for the like cause, might, through their favour, be suffred safely to remaine within their city. This Supplication was subscribed aswell by the sayed Sutton, Whittingham, and the reste of the Englishe men, as also by Morellio, Castallio, and one Adrian a cittezen there, with whom they lodged. And within three daies after the offringe up of their Supplication, they obtained their requestes.

The 8. of July followinge, labor was made by the counsaile and advice of Morellio and Castalio (who duringe their lyves shewed them selves fathers to all Englishe men) to Maister John Glawberge, one of the chiefest senators, for a place or churche, wherin they and all their country men might have God's Worde truly preached, and the Sacraments sincerely ministred in their naturall tonge; who jentlie promised his furtherance, and that he also woulde move the whole Senate therof; the whiche he did accordingly. And the 14. daie of the same monethe, yt was graunted that they shulde have libertie to preache and minister the Sacraments, in that churche which the Frenche men had; the Frenche one daie, and the Englishe an other daie, and upon the Sundaie, to chuse also them houres as they coulde agree amonge them selves; but yt was with this commandement, that the Englishe shulde not dissent from the French men in doctrine or ceremonyes, least they shulde thereby minister occasion of offence. And willed farther, that before they entred their churche, they shulde approve and subscribe the same Confession of Faith that the Frenche men had then presented, and abowte to put in printe:[1] To the whiche all the afore named (and others which by this time come thither) did subscribe.

When the Churche was in this sorte granted, they consulted amonge themselves what Order of Service they shulde use (for

[1] This Liturgy will afterwards be described.

they were not so strictly bownde, as was tolde them, to the Ceremonies of the Frenche, by the Magistrats, but that if the one allowed of the other it was sufficient). At length the Englishe Order was perused, and this, by generall consente, was concluded, that the Answeringe alowde after the minister shulde not be used; the Letanye, Surplice, and many other thinges also omitted, for that in those Reformed churches suche thinges woulde seeme more then strange. It was farther agreed uppon, that the minister (in place of the Englishe Confession) shulde use an other, bothe of more effecte, and also framed accordinge to the state and time. And the same ended, the people to singe a psalme in meetre, in a plaine tune, as was, and is accustomed in the Frenche, Dutche, Italian, Spanishe, and Skottishe churches;[1] that done, the minister to praye for the assistance of God's Holie Spirite, and so to proceade to the sermon. After the sermon, a generall praier for all estates, and for oure countrie of Englande, was also devised; at th'ende of whiche praier was joined the Lord's Praier, and a rehersall of th'articles of oure belief; whiche ended, the people to singe ane other psalme, as afore. Then the minister pronouncinge this blessinge, "The peace of God," &c., or some other of like effecte, the people to departe.

And as touchinge the ministration of the Sacraments, sundrie things were also, by common consente, omitted as superstitious and superfluous. After that the congregation had thus concluded and agreed, and had chosen their minister and deacons to serve for a time, they entred their churche the 29. of the same monethe.

At whiche tyme [in August 1554], Master Grindall[2] wrote to Master Scory[3] at Emden, perswadinge him to be Superintendent

[1] See the Preface to the Book of Common Order, in a subsequent portion of the present volume.

[2] Dr Edmund Grindal, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Bishop of London, afterwards Archbishop of York, and of Canterbury.

[3] John Scory, successively Bishop of Rochester, Chichester, and of Hereford. He survived till 1589.

of this churche of Frankford, who (in two severall letters to his private freinds) offred his service to the congregation; but before the receipte therof, the Congregation had written their letters to Maister Knox at Geneva, to Master Haddon at Strausbrough, and Master Lever at Zurick, whom they had elected for their ministers, and advertised Mr Scory, by a generall letter, of the same.

Abowte this tyme [in October], letters were receyved from Maister Haddon, wherin he desired, for divers considerations, to be excused, for comminge to take the charge uppon him at Franckford.

The 24. of October, came Maister Whithead[1] to Franckford, and at the requeste of the Congregation, he tooke the charge for a time, and preached uppon the Epistle to the Romains.

Abowte the 4. of November, came Maister Chambers[2] to Franckford, with letters from Zurick, whiche were partlie an answere to an other letter written unto them from Franckforde the 26. of September, whiche was as followith.

. . . . . .

When Maister Chambers had conferred with the Congregation [of Franckford], and sawe that they coulde not assure him the full use of the Englishe booke withowte the hazardinge of their Churche, he prepared to departe [for Zurick] from whens he came; and by this time was Maister Knox come from Geneva, (and chosen minister) uppon the receipte of a letter sent him from the Congregation, whiche letter was as followith:

We have received letters from oure brethern of Strausbrough, but not in suche sorte and ample wise as we looked for; wheruppon we assembled together in the Holie Goaste we hope, and have with one voice and consent chosen yow so par-

[1] David Whitehead, whom Strype mentions as "an ancient learned divine, and once recommended by Archbishop Cranmer as Archbishop of Armagh."—(*Eccl. Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 146.)

[2] Richard Chambers, see Strype's Eccl. Memor., vol. iii. p. 146.

ticularly to be one of the Ministers of our Congregation here, to preache unto us the moste lively Worde of God, accordinge to the gift that God hathe given you; for as muche as we have here, throughe the mercifull goodnes of God, a churche to be congregated togither in the name of Christe, and be all of one body, and also beinge of one nation, tonge, and countrie. And at this presente havinge neede of suche a one as you, we do desire you, and also require you, in the name of God, not to deny us, nor to refuse these oure requests;[1] but that you will aide, helpe, and assiste us with your presence in this our good and godlie enterprise whiche we have take in hand, to the glorie of God, and the profit of his congregation; and the poore sheepe of Christ dispersed abroad, who withe your and like presences, wouldo come hither and be of one folde, where as nowe they wander abroad as leste sheepe withowte anie guide. We mistruste not but that yow will joyfully accept this callinge. Fare ye well, from Franckford this 24. of September.

Your lovinge Brethern,

JOHN BALE.
EDMOND SUTTON.
JOHN MAKEBRAIE.

WILLIAM WHITINGHAM.	THOMAS WOOD.	MIGHELL GILL.
THOMAS COLE.	JOHN STANTON.	JOHN SAMFORD.
WILLIAM WILLIAMS.	WILLIAM WALTON.	JOHN WOOD.
GEORGE CHIDLEY.	JASPER SWYFT.	THOMAS SORBY.
WILLIAM HAMMON.	JOHN GEOFRIE.	ANTHONY CARIAR.
THOMAS STEWARD.	JOHN GRAIE.	HUGH ALFORDE.

Nowe to returne to the tenor of the letter which the Congregation of Franckford wrote, by Maister Chambers, to the students of Zurick:

WE have receyved your two severall letters, the one dated the 13. of October, sent us from Strausbrough, and the other

[1] Mark the calling off Knox to the pastorshipp.—(*Mary. note.*)

the 27. of the same, by the hands of your deare frinde Maister Chambers, and have conferred with him at large touching the contents therof. And when, as after divers assemblyes and longe debatings, the saied Maister Chambers perceyved that we coulde not in all points warrant the full use of the Booke of Service (whiche semethe to be your full scope and marke), and also waying in conscience the great benefit that God hathe in this Citie offred to our whole Nation, he not only rejoised at the same, but also promised to travell in perswadinge yow to the furtheraunce therof. As touchinge the effecte of the Booke, we desire the execution therof as muche as yow (so farr as God's Worde dothe commende it); but as for the unprofitable ceremonies, aswell by his consent as by ours, are not to be used. And althoughe they were tollerable (as some are not), yet beinge in a strange Common wealthe, we coulde not be suffred to put them in use; and better it were they shulde never be practised, then they shulde be the subversion of oure churche, which shulde fall in great hassard by usinge them.

The matter is not ours more than yours, (excepte anie excell other in godly zeale), but bothe wishe God's honor.

If a larger gate be opened there to the same then to us, uppon your perswasions, ye shall not finde us to drawe back. For this is that necessitie, Brethern, that maie not be neglected, yf we wishe the comforte and gatheringe together of oure dispersed brethern. Yf anie think that the not usinge of the Booke in all points shoulde increase our godly fathers and bretherns bands, or els anye thinge deface the worthie ordinances and lawes of our Soveraigne Lorde of moste famous memory, Kinge Edward the Sixthe; he semethe either litle to waie the mater, or ells, letted through ignorance, knowethe not that even they themselves have, uppon considerations of circumstances, altered heretofore many thinges as touchinge the same; and if God had not in theis wicked daies otherwise determined, woulde hereafter have chaunged more, yea, and in oure case, we dowte not but that they woulde have done the like. Theis

fewe lines, concerning both our communications, we have accordingly written unto yow, referringe the reste to the discretion of oure good friende Maister Chambers, who knoweth that we have shewed oure selves most conformable in all thinges that standethe in our powers, and most desirous of your companies, accordinge to our former letters. The Spirit of God move your hartes to do that which shalbe most to his glorie, and the comforte of your brethern. At Franckford, this 15. of November. Your lovinge Freinds, &c.

The 28. of November, Maister Chambers came againe to Franckford from Stransbrough, and with him Maister Grindall, with letters from the lerned men there, subscribed with 16. of their handes; whiche letter was as followeth:

WHEN we do consider what inwarde comforte it were for the faithfull people of Englande, now dispersed for the Gospell, and wandringe abroad in strange countries as shepe withowte pastor, to be gathered together into one congregation, that with one mouth, one minde, and one spirit, they might glorifie God: We have at all tymes, and do presently think it oure dewties, not only in harte to wishe that thinge, but also to labor by all meanes, so muche as in us lyethe, to bringe the same to passe. And havinge nowe perfit intelligence of the good mindes whiche the Magistrats of Franckford beare towardes yow, and others oure scattered countrie men; and also understandinge of the free graunt of a churche unto us, wherin we maie together serve God; and not dowtinge of their farther friendshipp in permittinge us franckly to use our religion accordinge to that godly Order sett forthe and receaved in England, we bothe geve God thankes for so great a benefit, and also thinke it not fit to refuse so friendly an offer, or to let slippe so good an occasion. Therfore, neither dowtinge of their good furtherance hereunto, nor yet distrustinge your good conformitie and ready desires in reducinge the Englishe churche, now begun there, to it's former perfection of the laste had in Englande, so farre as

possiblie can be atteined, least by muche alteringe of the same we shulde seeme to condemne the chief authors therof, who as they nowe suffer, so are they moste redie to confirme that facte with the price of their blouds, and shulde also bothe geve occasion to our adversaries to accuse oure doctrine of imperfection, and us of mutabilitie, and the godly to dowte in that truthe wherin before they were perswaded, and to hinder their comminge hither whiche before they had purposed. For the avoidinge of these and the obtaininge of the other, moved hereunto in conscience and provoked by your jentle letters, we have thought it expedient to sende over unto yow, oure beloved Brethern, the bringers hereof to travell withe the Magistrats and yow concerninge the premisses, whose wisedomes, learninge, and godly zeale, as they be knowen unto yow, so their doings in this shall fullie take place with us. And yf they obtaine that, whiche we truste will not be denied at no hands, then we intend (God willinge) to be with yow the firste of February next, there to helpe to set in order and stablishe that churche accordingly; and so longe altogether to remaine with yow as shall be necessary, or untill juste occasion shall call some of us awaie. And we dowte not but that our brethern of Zurick, Emden, Duesbrough, &c., will do the same accordingly, as we have praied them by oure letters, trustinge that yow by yours will make like requeste. Fare ye well from Strasbrough, this 23. of November.

Your loving Freinds,

JAMES HADDON.	MIGHELL REYMUGER.[1]
EDWIN SANDS.	AUGUSTINE BRADBRIDGE.
EDMOND GRINDALL.	ARTHUR SAULE.
JOHN HUNTINGTON.	THOMAS STEWARD.
GUIDO EATEN.	CHRIST. GOODMAN.
JOHN GEOFFRYE.	HUMPHRY ALCOCSON.
JOHN PEDDER.	THO. LAKIN.
THOMAS EATEN.	THO. CRAFTON.

[1] Or Michael Reniger, afterwards Prebendary of Winchester. He survived till 1609. See note in Newcourt's "Repertorium," vol. i. p. 204.

his glory, there he continueth till he bringe the same to a present worke: All thanks and praise be unto Him therefore, that hathe moved your hartes so as in no point ye seeme to forslowe your diligence to the furtheraunce of the same. And as the worke is of moste excellencie, so the adversaries cease not most craftely to undermine it, or at the leaste, through false reportes and defacing of the worke begun, to staie the laborers whiche shulde travell in the finishinge therof. But Truthe ever cleareth it self, and as the sonne consumethe the clowds, so misreportes by triall are confounded. Oure Brethern sent from yow can certifie yow at length touchinge the particulers of your letter, to whom we have in all things agreed whiche semed expedient for the state of this Congregation. As for certeine Ceremonies whiche the Order of the Countrie will not beare, we necessarily omit with as litle alteration as is possible, (which in your letters ye require,) so that no adversary is so impudent that dare either blame oure doctrine of imperfection, or us of mutabilitie, excepte he be altogether willfull ignorante, rather seekinge howe to finde faultes then to amend them. Nether doe we dissente from them whiche lie at the raunsome of their blouds, for the doctrine wherof they have made a moste worthye confession.

And yet we thinke not that anye godlie man will stande to the deathe in the defence of Ceremonies, whiche (as the Booke specifiethe) upon juste causes maie be altered and chaunged.

And yf the not full usinge of the Booke cause the godly to dowte in that truthe wherin before they were perswaded, and to staye theyr comminge hither, accordinge as they purposed; either it signifieth that they were verye slenderly taught whiche for breach of a ceremonie will refuse suche a singuler benefit, or ells that yow have harde them misreported by some false brethern, who, to hinder this worthie enterprise, spare not to sowe in everie place, store of suche poore reasons. Laste of all it remainethe that ye write, that the firste of February nexte yow will come to helpe to set in order and establishe this

e accordingly; whiche thinge, as we moste wishe for your
ies sake, and for that ye might see oure godly orders
e here observed; so we put yow owte of dowte, that for
inte a journey for the establishing of Ceremonies, shulde
e to your charges then anie generall profit, excepte ye
termined to remaine with us longer then two monethes,
rite to our countriemen at Densbrorow and Emden;
letters notwithstandinge are nowe staid, and as apear-
never the neere.

referre the reste to oure brethern, Maister Chambers
ister Grindall, who by their diligent inquisition have
so farre of our state, as we wrote unto yow in our
letters; that is, that we have a Churche freely graunted
ch God's Word purely, to minister the Sacraments sin-
and to execute Discipline truly. And as touchinge our
we will practise it so farre as God's Worde dothe assure
he State of this countrie permit. Fare ye well. At
urd, this 3. of December.

Your lovinge freinds,

GEORGE WHETNALL.	JOHN SAMFORD.
THOMAS WHETNALL.	JOHN FOX.
JOHN KNOX.	WILLIAM KETHE.
JOHN BALE.	JOHN MAKEBRAIE.
WILLIAM WHITINGHAM.	WILLIAM WALTON.
EDWARD SUTTON.	MIGHELL GILL.
THOMAS WOOD.	LAURENCE KENT.
WILLIAM WILLIAMS.	JOHN HOLLINGHAM.
JOHN STANTON.	

answere to this letter from Strausbrough was as fol-

Grace, Mercy, and Peace, &c.

have receaved your letters, and also your answere in
e concerninge certeine Articles, and do perceyve, aswell
same as by Maister Chambers and Maister Grindall,

your state. But for so muche as your opinion is, that the tyme dothe not presently serve to move the Magistrats in those requests, the obteininge wherof was the principall cause of our sending unto yow; we cannot at this present condescend uppon anie generall meetinge, at anie certeine tyme, either to remaine with yow or otherwise. And therfore, if yow shall certeinly perceave a time convenient that the Magistrats may be traveled withall, aswell for the good and quiete habitation of the commers, and especially students, as also a severall churche, and to knowe whither the exercise of the Booke shall be used, suche we meane as no reasonable man shall justly reprove, and that the certeintie of theis matters maie be knowen at the Magistrats hands:

Then, (yf yow can let us have intelligence,) we will farther consulte what is to be done on oure parte, trustinge God shall directe us to do so as maye be moste to his glorie in the ende, howesoever the presente tyme shall judge of it. From Strausbrough this 13. of December,

Your loving freinds, &c.

as in the letters before. [*See page* 16.]

When this letter was redd to the Congregation, they requested, that for so muche as the lerned men coulde not condescend uppon any generall and certeine tyme of meetinge, as nowe appeared by their letters, they might conclude uppon some certeine Order by common consent still to continewe, and that withowte farther delaye, and also to have the Holie Communion ministred, whiche the moste part ernestlie desired. At length (it was agreed that the order of Geneva, whiche then was alreadie printed in Englishe, and some copies there amonge them,) shulde take place as an Order moste godly, and fardeste off from superstition. But Maister Knox beinge spoken unto, aswell to put that Order in practise, as to minister the Communion, refused to do either the one or the other; affirminge, that for manie considerations he coulde not consente that the same

Order shulde be practised, till the lerned men of Strausbrough, Zurik, Emden, &c., were made privy. Neither yet woulde he minister the Communion by the Booke of Englande, for that there were thinges in it placed (as he saied) onely by warrant of man's authoritie, and no grownde in Godd's Worde for the same, and had also a longe tyme verye superstitiously in the Masse byn wickedly abused. But yf he might not be suffred to minister the Sacraments accordinge to his conscience, he then requested that some other might minister the Sacraments, and he woulde onely preache: If neither coulde be admitted, he besought them that he might be discharged. But to that the Congregation woulde in no wise consent.

Whiles these things were thus in handlinge, came Maister Lever (before elected), who, assemblinge the Congregation, requested that he might, withe their consentes appointe suche an Order, as shulde be bothe godly withowt respecte of the Booke of Geneva or anye other; requestinge farther, that for so muche as that office was of so great importaunce, and that he had not byn in the like before, that he might betweene that and Easter have a triall of them, and they of him, and so at the ende of that terme either take or refuse: whiche time of triall, as it was willingly graunted him, so when they understoode that the Order whiche he woulde place and use was not altogether suche as was fit for a right reformed churche, they woulde in nowise yelde to the same.

Knox, Whittingham, and others, perceyvinge that theis beginnings woulde growe to some what, yf it were not staid in time, drewe forthe a platt[1] of the whole Booke of England into the Lattin tonge, sendinge the same to Maister Calvin of Geneva, and requestinge his judgement therin, and shewinge him that some of their countrie men went abowte to force them to the same, and woulde admit no other, sayinge, that it was an Order moste absolute, and that yf ever they came into their Countrie

[1] A model, plan, or summary.

they woulde do their beste to establishe it againe. Nowe folowethe the Description:

A Description of the Liturgie, or Booke of Service, that is used in Englande.

Firste of all, morninge praier offreth it self. The minister havinge put on a white garment (whiche they call a Surplesse) beginninge withe some sentence of Holie Scripture, as for example: "Yf we shall saie that we have no sinne, we deceyve oure selves," &c., or some suche of like sorte. Then he takethe in hande the Exhortation, whiche stirreth up to a Confession of synnes, whiche the minister pronounceth with a loude voice, the people sainge after him. To this is added an Absolution, and when these thinges are done, he rehersethe the Lordes Praier, and afterward, "Lorde, open thow my lyppes! And my mouthe shall shewe forth thy praise. O God, be redie to be my helpe!" &c. Then, "Come and let us singe unto the Lorde," &c. By and by also there folowe three Psalmes togethter at thende of every one. Then foloweth the first lesson, whiche conteinethe a whole chapiter of the Olde Testament. After this lesson, they saie or singe, "We praise thee, O Lorde," or "Blessed be the Lorde," &c. Then another lesson owte of the Newe Testamente, unlesse peradventure the solemnization of some highe feast have other set and apointed lessons. Nowe in Cathedrall churches they utter their lessons in plaine songe, and then afterwards is Benedictus added. This booke warnethe that they keepe this order through owte the whole yere. Afterwards the Crede is pronounced by the minister, (all the people in the meane tyme standing up) afterwards fallinge downe uppon their knees, the minister saithe, "The Lorde be with yow;" the answere, "And with thy spirite." Then, "Lorde, have mercy upon us! Christe, have mercy upon us! Lorde, have mercy upon us," &c., "Our Father," &c., pronounced owte alowde off all, with all boldnesse. Then the minister, when he

standeth upp, saithe, "O Lorde, shewe us thy mercy!" The answere, "And geve unto us thy savinge helthe! O Lord, save the King, in the day wherin we shall call upon thee. Indue thy ministers withe righteousnes! And make thy chosen people joyfull. O Lorde, save thy people! and blesse thyne inheritaunce. Geve peace in our tyme, O Lorde!" &c. At lengthz, Collects are had in place of a Conclusion; the firste for the Daie, the seconde for Peace, the laste is for the obteininge of Grace.

Nowe, the eveninge praiers are saide in a manner as the other are, savinge, that after the firste lesson foloweth, "My soule doth magnifie the Lorde." After the second lesson, "Now, Lorde," &c., and in steed of that collect, "God whiche arte the Author of peace," is used, "O God, from whom all holie desiers," &c. Besides, there is caution added, that all ministers shall exercise them selves continually aswell in morninge praiers as eveninge praiers, except perhapps by studie in dyvinitie, or some other busynes, they be greatly and necessarely let or hindred. Besides, uppon every Sabothe daie, Wensdaie, and Fridaie, there is yet in use certeine suffrages devised of Pope Gregory, whiche beginnethe after this manner: "O God the Father of heaven, have mercy uppon us miserable synners! O God the Sonne, Redemer of the worlde," &c., onely leavinge owte the Invocation of Saincts, otherwise we use a certaine conjuringe of God: "By the misterie of his incarnation, by his holy nativitie and circumcision, by his baptisme, fastinge, and temptation; by his agonie and bloudie sweate," &c., yea, it comprehendethe in plaine wordes a praier to be delivered from suddain deathe, the people answeringe to the ende of every clause, either, "Spare us, good Lorde!" or ells, "Good Lord, deliver us!" or, "We beseche thee to heare us, good Lorde!" "O Lambe of God, that taketh awaie the sinnes of the worlde," is thrise repeated: then, "Lorde, have mercy upon us," thrise; and then the Lord's Praier, with this praier also, "O Lord, deale not with us after our sinnes," to the same adjoined; passinge over

some things, least we shulde seeme to syfte all those drosses which remaine still amonge us.

Nowe, the manner of the Supper is thus: The nomber of three, at the leaste, is counted a fitt nomber to communicate, and yet it is permitted (the pestilence, or some other common sicknes, beinge amonge the people) the minister alone maie communicate with the sicke man in his house. First therfore the minister muste be prepared after this manner, in a whit lynnin garmente (as in sayinge the other Service he is apointed), and muste stande at the northe side of the table. Then is had the Lord's Praier after the custome, then he reciteth the collect, and after folowe in order the ten commaundements; but so notwithstanding, that every one of the people maye answere: "Lorde, have mercy upon us! and inclyne oure hartes to keepe this lawe." After the rehersall of the Commandements, the Collect of the daie (as it is called) and an other for the Kinge is had. By and by the Epistle and Gospell folowethe, to witt, suche as the callender apointethe for that daie. And there in this place there is a note, that everie holy daye hathe his collect, epistle, and gospell, whiche fill 73. great leaves of the Booke, when the reste fill scarse fiftie. For all holy daies are nowe in like use as were amonge the Papistes, onelye verye fewe excepted.

Then he goethe forwardes to the Crede, and after that to the Sermon (if there be anie). Afterwardes the parishe-priest byddeth[1] the holie dayes and fastes on their eves, if there be anye that weeke. And here the Booke warnethe that none defraude the parishe-priest of his due or right, specially on those feast-daies, that are dedicated to offrings. Then foloweth a praier for the state of the churche militaunte, and that not withowte a longe heape and mixture of matters, untill they come (after a certeine confession of sinnes) to lift up your hartes, the people answeringe, "We geve thankes to the Lorde. Let us geve thanks to our Lorde God." The answer, "It is

[1] Announceth, maketh intimation of.

the priest bowethe his knee, acknowledginge oure un-
nes in the name of all them that shall receive; and
e owte God's mercy, he besechethe God that oure bodies
e made cleane by his bodie, and that our soules maie be
l through his bloude. And then he againe standeth up,
kethe in hande afreshe another praier appointed for this
e, in which are conteined the wordes of the Institution;
ıche being donne, he first communicateth; then by and
saithe to another, knelinge, "Take, and eate this, in
ıbrance that Christ died for thee, and feede on him in
rte by faithe with thankes gevinge."

r, abowte th'ende the Lordes Praier is used againe, the
er sayinge it alowde, and all the people folowinge; to
de, they have a gevinge of thanks in th'ende, withe "Glory
l in the highest," as it was used amonge the Papistes.
happen that there be no Sermon, onely a fewe thinges are
d, but all other thinges are done in order aforesaid.

Baptisme, the godfathers are demaunded in the name of
ilde, "Whither they renownce the devell and all his workes,
ıtes of the worlde," &c., and they answere, "I renownce
' Then, whither they believe the Artikles of the Faithe?
ı beinge confessed, "Wilte thow," saith he, turninge
f to bothe the witnesses, "be baptized into this faithe!"
ıey saie, "Yea, I will." After a fewe thinges rehersed,
ethe the child and dippeth it in, but warely and discretly,

eth them, that they bringe the childe to be confirmed of the Bishopp as soone as he can saie the Articles of the Faithe, the Lordes Praier, and the Ten Commaundements. And seinge there be many causes, as the Booke saithe, whiche shulde move them to the Confirmation of children, this forsoothe of all others is the waightiest, that by imposition of hands they maie receive strength and defence against all temptations of sinne, and the assaults of the world and the devell; bicause that when children come to that age, partlie by the frailtie of their owne fleshe, partly by the assaults of the worlde and the devell, they beginn to be in daunger. And leaste anie shulde think any error to be in this Confirmation, therfore they take a certeine pamflett of a Catechisme, which consisteth of the Articles of the Faithe, the Lordes Praier, and Ten Commandements, and all this is dispatched in lesse then two leaves.

To these is joyned their manner of Mariage, of whiche, that we maie passe over many petty ceremonies, these follies who can suffer! The husbande laithe downe a ringe upon the booke, whiche the minister takinge, he gevethe it in his hande, and biddethe him to put it on the fourth finger of his wife's left hande. Then he usethe this forme of wordes: "With this ringe (saithe he) I thee wedd, withe my body I thee worahip, withe all my worldly goods I thee endue: In the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghoste."

A litle after, the minister saithe to the newe maried persons, knelinge before the Lordes Table: "Lorde, have mercy uppon us! Christ, have mercy upon us! Lorde, have mercy uppon us! Oure Father which arte, &c. Lorde, save thy servaunt and thy handmaide," &c.; and so a few things beinge rehersed they muste be brought to the Lordes Supper.

The visitation of the sicke is after this manner: "Peace be to this howse." The answere, "And to all that dwell in the same." "Lorde, have mercy upon us! &c., Our Father, &c., Lorde, save thy servaunte." Answere, "Whiche trustethe in thee." "Sende forthe thy helpe from thy holy hil, and withe

spede save him," &c., as in the other prefaces, withe questions and answers. Of the Buriall:

"The priest meetethe the corse at the entraunce of the churcheyarde, either singing or softly pronouncinge, "I am the Resurrection and the Liffe," &c. "I knowe that my Redemer lyvethe."—(Job xix.) Beinge come to the grave, it is sayed, "Man berne of a woman."—(Job ix.) When the earthe is throwen in, "We committ (saithe he) earthe to earthe, duste to duste," &c. "The Lorde hathe geven, the Lorde hathe taken." "I harde a voice from heaven, sayenge, 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lorde.'" "Lorde have mercy uppon us," &c.

"The Purification of women in childbed, whiche they call gevinge of Thankes, is not only in all things withe us almoste common withe the Papistes, but also with the Jewes, byeause they are commaunded, instede of a lambe or dove, to offer monie.

"Other thinges, not so muche shame it self,[1] as a certeine kinde of pitie compelleth us to keepe close; in the meane season, nothinge diminishinge the honor due to those Reverende men, who partely beinge hindred by those times, and by the obstinacie, and also multitude of Adversaries, (to whom nothinge was ever delightfull besides their owne corruptions,) beinge as it were overflowen, did alwaies in their minde, continually as muche as they coulde, strive to more perfect thinges.

NOTE.—*That this Description is verye favourably put downe. yf ye conferre it with the Booke of Order in all points, and the Usage of the Booke in many churches of this realme, yow can confesse no lesse. And hereof ye maie gather what M. Calvin woulde have written, yf they had noted all the abuses of the same.*

[1] Knox and Whittingham ashamed to open some things.—(*Marg. note.*)

THE ANSWERE AND JUDGEMENTE OF THAT FAMOUS AND EXCELLENT LERNED MAN, MAISTER JOHN CALVIN, THE LATE PASTOR OF GENEVA, TOUCHINGE THE BOOKE OF ENGLANDE, AFTER THAT HE HAD PERUSED THE SAME FAITHFULLY TRANSLATED OWTE OF LATTEN BY MAISTER WHITTINGHAM.[1]

To the godly and lerned men, MAISTER JOHN KNOX and MAISTER WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM, his faithfull brethren at Frankford, &c.

THIS thinge trulie grevethe me very muche, and it is a great shame that contention shulde arise amonge Brethern, banished and driven owte of their countrie for one Faithe, and for that cause whiche onely ought to have holden yow bounde together, as it were withe an holy bande in this your dispersion. For what might yow do better in this dolorous and miserable plague, then (beinge pulled violently from your Countrie) to procure your selves a Church, whiche shulde receive and nourishe yow (beinge joyned together in mindes and languadge) in her motherly lappe? But nowe for some men to strive as touchinge the forme of Praier, and for Ceremonies, as though ye were at reste and prosperitie, and to suffer that to be an impedimente that ye cannot there joyne into one body of the Churche, (as I think) it is too muche owte of season.

Yet notwithstanding I allowe their constancie whiche strive for a juste cause, beinge forced againste their willes unto contention; I do worthely condemne frowardnes, whiche dothe

[1] This letter forms the concluding portion of a tract, entitled, "The Judgement of Foraign Divines, as well from Geneva as other parts, touching the Discipline, Liturgie, and Ceremonies of the Church of England. Whereunto is added, A Letter from Mr Iohn Calvin to Mr Knox, concerning the English Common-Prayer, after he had perused the same. London, printed, and are to be sold in Westminster Hal, Pauls Churchyard, and Popes Head-Alley, 1660." 4to, pp. 32.

hinder and staie the holye carefullnes of reformynge the churche.

And as I behave myself gentle and tractable in meane things (as extemall Ceremonies), so doe I not alwaies judge it profitable to geve place to their foolishe stowtenes, whiche will forsake nothinge of their oulde wonted custome. In the Liturgie of Englande, I see that there were manye tollerable foolishe thinges;[1] by theis wordes I meane, that there was not that puritie whiche was to be desired. These vices, thoughe they coulde not at the firste daie be amended, yet seinge there was no manifeste impietie, they were for a season to be tollerated. Therfore, it was lawfull to begin of suche rudimentes or Abecedaries,[2] but so that it behoved the lerned, grave, and godly Ministers of Christe to enterprise farther, and to set foorthe some thinge more filed from ruste, and purer. Yf godly religion had florished till this daie in Englande, there ought to have been a thinge better corrected, and manie thinges cleane taken awaie. Nowe when these principles be over throwne, a Churche muste be set up in another place, where ye maie freely make an Order againe, whiche shall be apparent to be moste commoditious to the use and edification of the churche. I cannot tell what they meane whiche so greatly delite in the leavinges of Popishe dregges: They love the thinges wherunto they are accustomed: Firste of all, that is a thinge bothe trifflinge and childishe;[3] furthermore, this newe Order farre differeth from a chaunge.

Therfore, as I woulde not have yow feirce over them whose infirmitie will not suffer to ascend an higher steppe; so woulde I advertise other, that they please not them selves too muche in their foolishnes; also, that by their frowardnes, they doe not let the course of the holie buildinge; laste of all, least that foolishe vaine glorie steale them awaie. For what cause

[1] Many tollerable foolishe things in the book by Calvin's judgement.—(*Mary. note.*)

[2] Abecedary, belonging to the alphabet.

[3] The Booke trifling and childishe by Calvin's judgement.—(*Mary. note.*)

have they to contende, excepte it be for that they are ashamed to geve place to better thinges! But I speake in vaine to them whiche perchaunce esteeme me not so well, as they will vouchsafe to admitt the consaile that commethe from suche an authour. If they feare the evell rumor in Englande, as though they had fallen from that Religion which was the cause of their banishment, they are farre deceived; for this true and sincere Religion will rather compell them that theire remaine, faithfully to consider in to what deepe gulff they have fallen; for their downefall shall more grevously wounde them, when they perceyve your goinge forwarde beyonde mid course, from the whiche they are turned. Fare ye well, dearely beloved Brethern, and faithfull Servants of Christe; the Lorde defende and governe yow. From Geneva, this 20. of Jan. anno 1555.

Your, JOHN CALVIN.[1]

When this letter of Calvin's was redd to them of the Congregation, it so wrought in the hartes of many, that they were not before so stowte to maintaine all the parts of the Booke of England, as afterwards they were bent against it. But nowe to returne: Whiles these things were in doyinge, the Congregation (as yow have harde afore) coulde not agree upon anie certeine Order; till after longe debatinge to and fro, it was concluded, that Maister Knox, Maister Whittingham, Maister Gilby, Maister Fox, and Maister T. Cole, shulde drawe forthe some Order meete for their state and time; whiche thinge was by them accomplished and offred to the Congregation (beinge the same Order of Geneva whiche is nowe in print[2]). This Order was verie well liked of many; but suche as were bent to the Booke of Englande coulde not abide it; yea, contention grewe at length so hot, and the one partye which sought sinceritie, so sore charged with newfanglednes and singularitie, and to be

[1] The original letter will be subjoined to these Extracts.

[2] This Order, or Forme of Prayers, &c., will be reprinted in the present volume, from the original edition at Geneva, 1556.

were stricken off, if by that a godly peace and unitie
ısue and followe. In th'ende, an other waie was taken
Congregation, whiche was, that Maister Knox and
Whittingham, Maister Parry and Maister Leaver,
eviae some Order, yf it might be, to ende all strife and
on.

four assembled for that purpos. And first, Maister
ake to the reste in this wise:[2] "For so muche (saithe
perceive that no ende of contention is to be hoped for,
the one parte somethinge relent, this will I doe for my
hat quietnes maie insue. I will shewe my judgement
I think) it maie be beste for the edification of this
ocke; whiche if ye will not accepte nor followe (after
ave discharged my conscience), I will cease, and commit
le matter to be ordered by yow, as yow will answere
hrist Jesus at the laste daie, and to this his congrega-
this life," &c. Wherupon after some conference, an
as agreed upon; some parte taken forthe of the Eng-
ooke and other things put to, as the state of that
required.

his Order, by the consent of the Congregation, shulde
re to the laste of Aprill folowing.[3] Yff anie contention
rise in the meane time, the matter then to be deter-
y theis five notable learned men, to wete, Calvin, Mus-
[artyr, Bullinger, and Vyret. This agremente was put

joyfull. Thankes were geven to God, brotherly reconciliation folowed, great familiaritie used, the former grudges seemed to be forgotten. Yea, the holie communion was, uppon this happie agremente, also ministred. And this freindship continued till the 13. of March folowinge, at whiche tyme D. Coxe,[1] and others with him, came to Frankford[2] owte of Englande, who began to break that Order whiche was agreed uppon; firste, in answeringe alowde after the minister, contrary to the churches determination. And beinge admonished therof by the Seniors of the congregation, he, with the rest that came withe him, made answere, that they woulde do as they had done in Englande, and that they would have the face of an English churche. And the Sundaie folowinge, one of his company, withowt the consent and knowledge of the congregation, gate upp suddainly into the pulpit, redd the Lettany, and D. Cox withe his companie answered alowde; wherby the determination of the churche was broken. The same Sundaie at after noone, it came to Maister Knox his turne to preache, who havinge passed so farre in Genesis that he was come to Noah as he laie open in his tente, he spake theis wordes folowinge:

"As divers thinges (saithe he) ought to be kepte secret,[3] evenso suche thinges as tend[4] to the dishonor of God and disquieting of his churche, ought to be disclosed and openly reproved." And therupon he shewed, howe that after longe trouble and contention amonge them, a godly agremente was made; and howe that the same that daie was ungodly broken; "whiche thinge became not (as he said) the prowdest of them all to have attempted: alleadginge furthermore, that like as by the Worde of God we muste seeke oure warrant for the establishing of Religion, and withowt that, to thruste nothinge into anie Christian congregation: so for as muche as in the Englishe Booke were thinges bothe superstitious, unpure, and

[1] Dr Richard Cox.

[2] D. Cox, with others, come to Frankford.—(*Mary. note.*)

[3] The effecte of Knox's sermon.—(*Mary. note.*)

[4] In the orig. edit. "end."

perfect (which he offred to prove before all men), he would not consent that of that Churche it shulde be received; and but in case men woulde go abowte to burden that free Congregation therwith, so ofte as he shulde come in that place the Texte offringe occasion) he woulde not faile to speak gainst it.

"He farther affirmed, That amonge many thinges whiche proclaimed God's anger againste Englande, slackness to reforme religion (when tyme and place was graunted) was one. And before it became them to be circumspecte howe they laid their foundation. And where some men ashamed not to saie, that there was no lett or stopp in Englande, but that Religion might be, and was already brought to perfection, he proved the contrary, by the wante of Discipline: also by the troubles which Maister Hooper sustained for the Rochet, and such like, as the Booke commanded and allowed. And for that one man was permitted to have three, four, or five benefices, to the great hinder of the Gospell, and defraudinge of the flock of Christe of their lively foode and sustenaunce."

These were the chief notes of his Sermon, whiche was so tomaked of some, especially of suche as had many livinges in Englande, that he was verye sharplie charged and reproved so oone as he came owte of the pulpit, for the same.[1]

The Twesdaie folowinge was appointed to talke of these hinges more at large. When all were assembled, earneste reueste was made that Dr Coxe with his companie might be dmitted to have voices in the congregation. Answere was ade by others, That the matter yet in controversie amonge hem ought firste to be determined. Secondly, That they huld subscribe to Discipline, as others had done before them;[2] nd farther, yt was greatly suspected that they had byn (some f them) at masse in Englande, and others had subscribed to icked Articles, as one of them shortly after, even in the pul-

[1] Dr Coxe sharply rebuked him.—(*Marg. note.*)

[2] But that they refused, and at length over threw yt.—(*Marg. note.*)

M. JEWELL. pit, sorowfully confessed. For theis considerations, and suche like, the Congregation withstoode the admission of Dr Coxe and his companie. Knox at laste began to make intretie that they might have their voices amonge the reste; to whose requeste, when certeine had yelded, they then became the greater parte, and so were by them admitted as members of the Churche. They thus admitted, by [being] the moste parte, Dr Coxe foorthwith forbad Knox to meddle anye more in that congregation.

The nexte daie beinge Wensdaie, Whittingham wente to Maister John Glauburge,[1] (who was the chief meane in obtaininge the Churche,) and brake the matter unto him, declaringe howe that certeine, nowe come owte of Englande, had forbidden their Minister appointed to preache that daie, and intended to set upp an other, whiche he dowted woulde not be well taken. And therfore, leaste anie inconvenience shulde happe, he thought good to make him privie therto. Wherupon the saied Magistrat sent immediatlie, and gave commaundement that ther shulde be no sermon that daie. Afterwarde he sent for Valeran, the Frenche Minister, commaundinge him that two lerned men shulde be appointed of either parte, and that he and they shulde consulte and agree uppon some good Ordre, and to make report unto him accordingly. Then were apointed Dr Coxe and Lever, of the one side, and Knox and Whitingham, on the other side. To decide the matter, Valeran was appointed to put downe in writinge what they shulde agree upon. But when in this conference they came to the order of Mattins, and that Dr Coxe said, *Ego volo habere*, there coulde be no agrement amonge them, and so brake off. Wherupon the Congregation drew up a Supplication in Latten, and presented it to the saied Maister Glauburge, requestinge him to be a meane that the same might be considered of amonge the Senators: the Englishe wherof was as folowethe:

[1] Knox put owt by those which he brought in.—(*Mary. note.*)

THE SUPPLICATION TO THE SENATE.

"LET it not molest yow (moste grave and worthie Senators) that your affayres are letted with a fewe wordes. And leaste we shulde trouble yow with prolixitie, yow shall understande the matter briefly. When your great and unspeakable humanitie, through the providence of God had graunted us a Churche, we undertooke forthwith (as became us) to consulte abowte the orders of the same, and to set owt a Liturgie. And bicause we sawe that in the prolixe and ceremonious booke of the Liturgie of Englande, be manie thinges (that we maie speake no worse of it) not moste perfecte; it seemed beste to reduce it to the perfect rule of the Scriptures, and to accommodate our selves to the ensamples of that churche wherein we teache, and to whom we have subscribed. But when this enterprise offended some of oure countriemen, (althoughe the greatest number agreed unto us,)[1] for that we woulde decline from the decrees of our Elders; here uppon there grewe to us for a fewe monethes no small trouble.

"At the length, when there appeared no ende, for peace and concordes sake we gave place to their will, and suffred them, at their pleasure, to pike owte of their Booke the chiefest or beste thinges, upon this condition, that the same shulde continewe with owte alteration, at the leaste unto the laste daie of Aprill; at the whiche daie (if there shulde anie newe contention arise), that then all the matter shulde be referred to these five notable men, Calvin, Musculus, Martyr, Bullinger, and Viret. What nedethe manie wordes? This condition was willingly accepted, and the covenaunte rated on bothe partes. A writinge was also therof to testifie the promesse made of the one to the other. Moreover, thankes were geven to God withe great joye, and common praiers were made, for that men thought that daie to be th'ende of discorde. Besides this, they receyved the Communion as the sure token or seale of their

[1] To wit, The Frenche Churche.—(*Marg. note.*)

mutuall agremente, whiche was omitted before by the space of three monethes. Valeran, also, the Frenche minister, was partaker of this Communion, and a furtherer of concorde, and a wittnes of theis thinges. Nowe of late daies, certeine of our countreymen came to us, who have indevored by all meanes to obtrude that huge volume of Ceremonies upon us, to break the covenaunte, and to overthrough the libertie of the Churche, graunted by your benevolence. And no dowte, this they enterprise and minde to do under the title and name of your defence, wherby they maie abuse the authoritie of your name, to satisfie their luste. We are here compelled to omitte manie thinges whiche woulde make for oure cause, no lesse rightly then profitably; but we remit theis to oure Brethern for concordes sake.

"Yow have here, moste honorable Senators, a brief summe of oure case and contention, wherby yow may easilie understande what to judge of the whole matter.

"What manner of Booke this is for the whiche they so cruellie contende, ye maie consider by the epistle that Calvin lately wrote unto us;[1] in the whiche he hathe signified his minde, as well plainly of the Booke, as also of the uprightnesse of oure cause. We coulde have pointed owte unto yow the foolishe and fonde things of the Booke; but passinge over an infinite nomber of thinges, this one will we bringe for manie, the whiche shalbe necessarie well to be marked. Within these three yeres arose a great conflicte betweene the Bishopps of the Realme and the Bishoppe of Glocester,[2] Maister Hooper, a man worthie of perpetuall memorie, whom we heare to be burned of late. This man beinge made Bishopp by Kinge Edwarde, there was obtruded by other bishops of the same order (accordinge to this Booke) a rochet and a bishop's robe; this man being well lerned, and a longe tyme nourished and brought up in Germany, as soone as he refused theis proud thinges that fooles marvell at,

[1] The letter a little before.—(*Marg. note.*) It occurs at page 28; and the original is subjoined at page 51.

[2] This controversie hath byn within Kinge Edward his raigne, as ye se. —(*Marg. note.*)

caste into prison,[1] and at length by their importunitie me; and relentinge, he was compelled, to his shame, to lace to their impudency, withe the common grief and of all godlye mindes.

t wherfore speake yow of theis thinges, will yow saie, that eneth nothinge to us? Yes verely, we thinke it toucheth rie moche: for yf theis men, armed by your authoritie, lo what they liste, this evell shalbe in time established , and never be redressed, nether shall there for ever be de of this controversie in Englande. But yf it woulde your honorable Authoritie to decree this moderation be- us, that this whole matter may be referred to the judge- of the five above named; not we alone that are here pre- ut oure whole posteritie, yea oure whole Englishe nation l good men, to the perpetuall memorie of your names, bounde unto yow for this great benefit. We might sed moe wordes in this narration, for we feared not that lde lake reasons, but rather that tyme shulde faile yow, with more serious busines. Therfore we, by theis thinges, he reste to the consideration of your Wisdomes."

22. of Marche, Maister Glauburge came to the Englishe he, and shewed the Congregation, that it was commaunded y the Magistrates (when by his procurement the Churche aunted) that they shulde agree withe the Frenche Churche in doctrine and ceremonies, and that they understood he fallinge from that Order had bred muche dissention e them. Therfore he straitly charged and commaunded, rom thence foorthe they shulde not dissent from that ; yf they did, as he had opened the Churche doore unto so woulde he shutte it againe. And that suche as woulde

[1] John Hooper was appointed to of Gloucester in 1550. His o be consecrated in the usual d his objections to the use rplice and other canonical habits, led to a protracted controversy, and his confinement to his own house, until a compromise was made. His martyrdom took place on the 9th of February 1555.

not obey therunto shulde not tarie within that Citie, willinge them to consulte together owte of hande, and to geve him an answere before he departed. Dr Coxe then spake to the Congregation in this wise: I have (saithe he) redd the Frenche Order, and do thinke it to be bothe good and godly in all pointes; and therfore wished them to obaie the Magistrates commaundement: wherupon the whole Congregation gave consent; so as before the Magistrate departed the Churche, Dr Coxe, Lever, and Whittingham made reporte unto him accordingly. Dr Coxe also, at that presente, requested that it woulde please him, notwithstandinge their ill behaviour, to shewe unto them his accustomed favor and goodnesse; whiche he moste jently and lovinglie promised.

At the nexte meetinge of the Congregation that Order was put in practise, to the comforte and rejoycinge of the moste parte. Nevertheles, suche as woulde so faine have had the Booke of England, lefte not the matter thus. And for that they sawe Knox to be in suche credit withe many of the Congregation, they firste of all assaied by a moste cruell, barbarous, and bloudie practise to dispatche him owte of the waie, to th'ende they might withe more ease attaine the thinge whiche they so gredely sought, whiche was the placinge of their Booke. They had amonge them a booke of his, intituled, "An Admonition to Christians," written in the English tonge;[1] wherin by occasion he spake of the Emperour, of Philip his sonne, and of Marie then Queene of Englande. This booke certeine of them presented to the Magistrates, who (upon receipte of the same) sente for Whittingham, and asked him of Knox their minister, what manner of man he was? Whittingham answered, that suche a one there was amonge them, and to his knowledge, bothe a lerned, wise, grave, and godly man. Then one of the Magistrates saied unto him, Certaine of your countrie men have accused him unto us[2] *Læsæ Majestatis Imperatoriæ*, that is, of

[1] It is republished in vol. iii. pp. 257-330.

[2] Knox accused of treason.—(*Mary. note.*)

high treason againste the Emperour, his Sonne, and the Queene of England. Here is the booke, and the places whiche they have noted,[1] the true and perfect sence wherof we commaunde yow (*sub pœna pacis*) to bringe unto us in the Latten tonge, at one of the clock in the after noone: which thinge he did accordingly; at whiche time (after certeine communication amonge themselves) they commanded that Knox shulde preache no more till their pleasure were farther knowen. The wordes concerninge the Emperour were theis, spoken in the pulpit in a towne of Buckingham shire, in the beginninge of Queene Maries raigne, as by the saied booke apearethe, where it is saied, "O Englande, Englande! yf thow wylte obstinately returne into Egipte; that is, yf thow contracte mariage, confederacy, or league, with suche princes as doe maintaine and advaunce ydolatrie, (suche as the Emperour, who is no lesse enemie to Christ then was Nero); yf for the pleasure and friendship (I saie) of such princes, thow returne to thine oulde abhominations, before used under Papistery, then assuredly (O England!) thow shalt be plagued and brought to desolation, by the meanes of those whose favour thow sekeste, and by whom thow arte procured to fall from Christe, and serve Antechriste."[2] There were other eight places, but this was most noted, in that it touched the Emperour. But it seemed the Magistrates abhorred this bloudy, cruell, and outragious attempt; for that when as certeine of Knox his enemies followed hardly the Magistrates to knowe what shuld be donne with him, they did not onely shewe most evident signes of dislikinge their unnaturall suite, but also sent for Maister Williams and Whittingham, willinge them that Maister Knox shuld depart the city;[3] for otherwise (as they saide) they shuld be forced to deliver him, yf the Emperour his counsaile (whiche then lay at Ausburge[4]) shuld uppon like information send for him.

[1] The places in all were eight.—(*Marg. note.*)

[2] This passage from his Admonition will be found in vol. iii. p. 308.

[3] The banishment of Knox.—(*Marg. note.*)

[4] Augsburg, see p. 17, note 1.

The 25. of Marche, Maister Knox, the night before his departure, made a moste comfortable sermon at his lodginge to 50. persons, or there abowte, then present; which sermon was of the deathe and resurrection of Christe, and of the unspeakable joyes whiche were prepared for Goddes electe, whiche in this life suffer trouble and persecution for the testimonie of his blessed Name. The next daie, he was brought three or four mile in his waie by some of those unto whom the night before he had made that exhortation; who with great heavines of harte and plentie of teares committed him to the Lorde.

A NARRATIVE BY KNOX

OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ENGLISH CONGREGATION AT FRANKFURT, IN MARCH M.D.LV.

THUS have I, says Calderwood,[1] word be[2] word, collected out of a book, entituled, "A Breefe Discourse of the Troubles begunne at Frankfurde," the troubles of Mr Knox for opponing to the English Service Book, in the year 1554, that the Reader may perceive what light he had when light was striving with darkness in Scotland. But because in this printed book there is but one place of many which were alleged out of his book be his Accusers, I have set down more fully that part of the History, AS HE HIMSELF HATH SET IT DOWN WITH HIS OWN HAND.

OUR agreement (meaning of the Four appointed to consult upon some Order[3]) was signified to the Congregation, accepted, and allowed be the same to take place to the last day of Aprile, and then if any contention should arise, that the matter should be referred to the determination of five learned men;[4] as a writing made upon this agreement does testify. Herewith all men seemed to be pleased; no man did speak against it; thanks were given to God, the Lord's Supper was ministered, the Order by us appointed was used, well-liked by many, and by none reproved; till some of those that after came amongst us, before they desired to be admitted of the Church, did begin to break the Order, whereof they were by the Seniors and others

[1] MS. History, British Museum, Addit. MSS. 4734, pp. 214–218.

[2] *Be*, by.

[3] See page 31.

[4] Calvin, Musculus, Peter Martyr, Bullinger, and Viret: See p. 31.

admonished, but no amendment appeared. For they were admonished not to murmur aloud when the minister prayed; but they would not give place, but quarrelled, and said, They would do as they had done in England; and their Church should have an English face. The Lord grant it to have the face of Christ's Church, which is the only matter that I sought, God is my record; and therefore I would have had it agreeable in outward rites and ceremonies with Christian Churches reformed.

But to be short, in the midst of these troubles, Mr Lever, unmindful of his promise and all our agreement, uttereth himself to favour their party. For he hearing and seeing their open misdemeanours would never reprove them, nor being admonished by me and the Seniors, that he should persuade them to cease from the breaking of the Order of the Congregation, did any thing esteem our reasons or requests, nather yit the offence of the Country, but began to treat that the Letanie which answered might be used; to whom when it was answered by the Seniors, that it might not be done without breaking of the Decree of Congregation, I said plainly, if any such thing should be done it should be without my consent. And furthermore, perceiving Mr Lever, not so mindfull of his promise, nor carefull for that small number that called him to be Pastor,[1] as me thought his duty and charge required, I laboured with Mr Valeranus Polanus,[2] a minister of the French Church, that he should admonish him to keep promise made

[1] See page 21. Thomas Lever, Master of St John's College, Cambridge, was ejected in 1553. He was at Zürick when elected by the Frankfurt congregation as one of their ministers (*supra*, page 12). See also in vol. iii. p. 176, note 5.

[2] Valerandus Pollanus was probably a native of Brabant. He became minister of the Church of Strangers, consisting chiefly of French and Walloons, who fled from Strasburg by reason of the Interim, in 1550. These strangers, upon their arrival in England, were encouraged to carry on woollen manufactures by the Duke of Somerset, who had obtained a grant of the dissolved monastery of Glastonbury. Having translated into Latin the Liturgy they used, it was published by Pollanus, with a dedication to Edward the Sixth, at Londini 1551. —(See Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 242; Burn's History of Foreign Re-

to the Congregation, and that he should not serve the affections of man to the contrair. Notwithstanding, the Sunday next following, not consulting with any man that was in office, to the great grief and trouble of the Congregation, Mr Lever brought in one to preach who had been at Masse in England, and had subscribed to blasphemous Articles, who read the Litanie in the pulpit, the people answering, and so the determination agreed and determined by the whole Church was broken (as appeareth) by subtle undermining of Mr Lever, who ought of the same to have been patron and defender, as he was chosen by them Minister and Pastor.

These things done, Orders being broken, and promises also in contempt of that Church whereof I was Minister, and certain invectives made by Mr Lever and others against us who withstood the unprofitable Ceremonies; yit coming to my course the same day after noon to preach, I was moved in heart, and desired by divers to defend the authority of the Church, mine own doctrine, and their doings who were unworthily accused in the self same place where the crimes were committed; because, they truly said, such public offences ought not by the Preacher to be overpassed. Therefore, at the time appointed for the sermon by occasion, I began to declare what opinion I had sometime of the English Book, what moved me from the same, and what was my opinion presently. I had once a good opinion of the Book, I said, but even so, I added, like as yours is at the present that it ought not in all points to be observed. Then afterwards, by the stubborness of such men as would defend the whole, and the deeper consideration of the damnage that might ensue thereof, and by contemplation of our estate, which requireth all our doings to have open defence of the Scriptures, (especially in God's service to admit nothing without God's Word,) I was driven away from my first opinion; and now do I tell them plainly, that as by God's book they must

fugees, p. 91; and Herbert's Typogr. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 770, &c.) There will afterwards be occasion to notice this Liturgy.

seek our warrant for Religion, and without that, we must thrust nothing into any Christian congregation; so because I do find in the English Book (which they so highly praise and advance above all other Orders) things superstitious, impure, unclean, and unperfect, (the which I offered myself ready to prove, and to justify before any man,) therefore I could not agree that their Book should be of our Church received. And furthermore I told them, that it became not the proudest of them all to enterprise the breach of any Order within that church gathered in the name of Christ, because he was head among them, and this I would also justify. At which time, also, I put them in remembrance of the Order taken, and added, moreover, that though we had changed countries, God had not changed his nature. Wherefore, if we from England brought the same vices that we had in England, and obstinately did continue in the same, his justice must needs here punish us in Germany also; and translate us beyond the places of our expectatioun, as were sometimes the Israelites beyond Babylon. Among many sins that moved God to plague England, I affirmed that slackness to reform religion, when time and place was granted, was one, and therefore that it did become us to be circumspect how we did now lay our foundations, and how we went forward. And because that some men nothing ashamed to say, and affirm openly, that there was no impediment nor stop in England, but that Religion might goe furth and grow to the purity, and that it was already brought to perfection; I reproved this opinion as fained and untrue, by the lack of discipline which is not in the Book, neither could in England be obtained; and by the trouble that Mr Hooper sustained for the rochet, and such trifles in the Book allowed; as also, by that which appeared in all men's eyes, that one man was permitted to have power of five benefices, to the slander of the Gospel, and defraudation of Christ's flock of their lively food and sustenance.

How this sermon did exasperate the minds of men by the

nstigation of some that seemed to be tuiched therewith, and iow I am reported of for the same, though I keep silence, the ɔommon bruit declareth.

Upon my complaint and accusation of Order and promise broken, was the Congregation the same night assembled, wherein Mr Lever and Dr Coxe accusing me, I was suffered to say little for the shortness of the time; and the Tuesday following was appointed for the disputation of the same, to the which, when we assembled, no mention was made of the principal matter, but request was made, that such as were lately come to the Congregation should be admitted to have voices in the Congregation. Answer was made, That the question depending ought first to be determined. Secondly, that they should subscribe to Ecclesiastical Discipline, as other their Brethren had done before them; and so they should be admitted. The which two things be[ing] denied and refused, it was again required that such men amongst them as were known to have been at Mass, and to have subscribed to idolatrous Articles, and to have behaved themselves slanderously in Christ's cause and matters of religion, should first of conscience either purge them, or shew some sign of repentance before the Congregation. Fy! Nay! this was abominable injury (say they), and departing twice or thrice, they seemed to be much offended. The most part of the Congregation denied their admission. I only made intercession that they should be admitted, and obtained that which I requested. I said these words: I know that your earnest desire to be received at this instant within the number of the Congregation is, because that by the multitude of your voices you [may] justify a promise-breaker, and so overthrow my cause; howbeit the matter is so evident that ye shall not be able to doe it. Wherefore I fear not your judgement, and therefore doe I require that ye might be admitted. Wherefore I did convict the promise to be broken or no, (because time doth not suffer to prosecute these matters,) I partly remit to the conscience of the adversary, partly to their report, to whom the promise was made, to whom then I ap-

pealed. In the end of this matter I was discharged to preach, and that with authority of Dr Coxe, and such other as then had no authority in the Congregation, but usurped for their well doing in England.

The dayes following, the sermon was delayed by the commandment of the Magistrate, and Dr Coxe, Mr Lever, Mr Whittingham, and I, were appointed to consult of some godly Order; which we did by the space of two dayes in the house of Valeranus Polanus; in the which reasoning, what soberness was found in me I refer to these notes which Mr Valeran did take in writt of our aggreement. But the third day, when the order of Mattins, to begin always with "*Domine labia*," "*Deus in adjutorium*," *et* "*Deum laudamus*," and other prescript words, not read in the Scripture, was called an Order borrowed of the Papists and Papistical; then began the tragedie, and our consultation ended. Who was most blame-worthy, God shall judge; and if I spake fervently, to God was I fervent.

During the time of these our controversies, one Mr Isaack of Kent[1] cometh to my house to move me to relent from my earnestness against the Book, and promiseth me favour; if not, he threateneth somewhat to follow. My answer was, That I could wish my name to perish, so that God's book and his glory might only be sought amongst us. But afterward, this same Mr Isaack, by the counsel of some Preists who seemed to be sore offended with my Sermon, devised how to have me cast into prison; and he reported, he knew well I should not escape. So, seeking to their old shott-anchor, they cried out against me, *Non est Cæsaris amicus*, He is not Cæsar's friend; the which dart the devil doth ever shoot, by the craft of preists, against the true preachers. For when neither doctrine nor life can be reproved in Christ's faithfull servants, yet this serveth at all assayes; yea, though they love the Emperour no more than did the old Pharisees, yet for hatred of their brethren, they can pro-

[1] This was Edward Isaack of Patricksbourn, who was Sherif of Kent, 11 Eliz. [1568-1569.] Hasted's Kent, vol. i. p. xci.

duce such cautels.[1] O Lord God! open their hearts that they may see their wickedness, and forgive them for thy manifold mercies; and I forgive them, O Lord, from the bottom of my heart! But that thy message sent by my mouth should not be slandered, I am compelled to declare the cause of my departing, and so to utter their follies, to their amendment I trust, and the example of others, who in the same banishment can have so cruell hearts to persecute their brethren.

To be short, the said Mr Isaack, and one Parrey, late Chancellor of Salisburie,[2] by the counsell of Dr Coxe, Dr Bale, Turner of Wynsore,[3] Jewell of Oxford,[4] and others, accused me before the Magistrates, in nyne Articles, of high treason against the Emperour, his sonne Philip King of Spaine, and the Queene of England.

My words are these that followeth, in a book named, "The Admonition of Christians, concerning the present troubles of England."[5] First, speaking against idolaters, and how they ought, by the express command of God, to be put to death; and yet reserved by God's providence. I said:

1. If Mary and her Counsellors had been sent to hell before these dayes, her cruelty should not have so manifestly appeared to the world.

[1] Quirks, stratagems.

[2] Henry Parry was appointed Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury in 1547, deprived in 1553, restored in 1559, and died in 1571.

[3] Richard Turner, a native of Staffordshire, and a fellow of Magdalene College, Oxford. He became curate of Chartam in Kent, vicar of Dertford, and preferred to a prebend of Windsor. He assisted John Marbeck, the musician and organist in that church, in his Concordance to the Bible, (as Foxe records in Marbeck's examinations) which was printed in 1550. He was one of the English exiles who settled at Basel; and Foxe states that he died in exile, or previously to 1559. On the 12th Oct. 1558, we find Peter Welthowe was promoted to the vicarage of Hillingden, vacant by the death of Richard Turner. (Wood's Athenæ Oxon. by Bliss, vol. i. p. 277. Tanneri Bibliotheca Britan. p. 727. Newcourt's Repertorium, vol. i. p. 650.)

[4] Dr John Jewel, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.

[5] This title does not correspond with that of the original edition of his "Faythfull Admonition." See vol. iii. p. 257. The passages objected against Knox will be found at pp. 294–308.

2. Jesabel never erected half so many gallowes in all Israel, as mischievous Mary hath done within London alone.

3. Would any of you have confessed, two years agone, that Mary, your mirrour, had been false, dissembling, inconstant, proud, and a breaker of promises, except such promises as she made to your god the Pope, to the great shame and dishonour of her noble Father?

4. The love of her native country could not move that wicked woman's heart to pity.

5. She declareth herself an open traitouress to the Realm of England, contrary to the just lawes of the same, to bring in a stranger, and make a proud Spaniard King, to the destruction of the nobility and subversion of the Realm.

6. If God had suffered her (for our scourge) and her cruell counsell to come to authority, &c.

7. Under an English name she beareth a Spaniard's heart.

8. Much trouble in England for the establishing of that most unhappy and wicked Woman's authority; I meane, of her that now reigneth in God's wrath, &c.

9. Marriage ought not to be contracted with those that are maintainers of Idolatry, such as the Emperour, who is no less enemy to Christ than was Nero.

These places being noted in my book to the Magistrates, I was commanded by them to stay from preaching; and yet being desirous to hear others, I went to the church the next day, not thinking that my company would have offended any. But as soon as my accusers saw me, they, with Dr Coxe and others, departed from the sermon. Some of them protesting, with great vehemency, that they could not tarry where I was present. After few days, the said Isaack and the said Jewell laboured with the Magistrate for sentence and judgement; whereupon they sent for Mr Williams and Mr Whittingham, and commanded them that they should desire me to depart the City.

Thus have ye briefly the cause of my departure, the cause of my Sermon, and the effect of the same, and all my public matters

without any purgation of myself, or argument made for my own defence. One day I do purpose, by the grace of God, to handle this matter more at large;[1] and now, deare Brethren, I do bid you all Fare well in the Lord, the living God, beseeching you to stand fast in that doctrine that ye have of me received, for I taught you not man, nor man's fantasies, but as I learned of the Lord, the true Word of God. If I had cast me to please men, I had not been the servant of God. If I had been a man-pleaser, men would not have persecuted me; but so little do I repent any thing that they lay unto my charge furth of the book called, "The Admonition of Christians," either yet of my Sermon, either of any part of my doctrine or publick doings, that if God shall grant time, the World shall know, and so be better able to judge of my whole Proceedings there.

[1] This purpose, it may be added, was never carried into effect.

Extract from the Brief Discourse, &c.

The nexte daie [the 31st of August 1555], the pastour, Dr Coxe, Maister Parry, and Maister Asheley, sent for Whittingham, Thomas Cole, John Fox, William Kethe, Roger Harte, John Hilton, with certeine other, demandinge of them what shulde be the cause of their departure. Whittingham made answere, that the daie before they had declared sufficiently, and yet wouldo farther shewe reasons, yf they would permit the controversie to arbytrement. And to the intent they shulde not counterfait ignorance, (amonge other) theis were some causes:

1. Their breach of promess, established with invocation of Goddes name. 2. Their orderless thrustinge themselves in to the Churche. 3. Takinge awaie the order of Discipline established before their comminge, and placinge no other. 4. The accusation of Maister Knox their godly minister of treason, and seekinge his bloude. 5. Their overthrowinge of the common Order taken and commaunded by the Magistrate. 6. The displacinge of officers withowte anie cause alleadged. 7. The bringing in of Papisticall superstitions and unprofitable ceremonies, whiche were burthens, yokes, and clogges; besides other thinges, whiche, yf they woulde abide the triall, they shulde heare at large. When he and some of the rest had rendred their reasons for their departure to this effecte, certaine warme wordes passed to and fro from the one to the other; and so in some heate departed.

Not many daies after, the oppressed Churche departed from Frankford to Basill and Geneva, some stayinge at Basill, as Maister Fox with others. The rest came to Geneva,[1] where they

[1] On the 13th of October 1555. (Livre des Anglois, p. 6.)

were receiued withe great favour and mutche curtesie, bothe of the Magistrates, ministers, and people. So soone as they entred their Churche, [the 1st of November 1555,] they chose Knox and Goodman for their pastor, and Gilby requested to supplie the roome till Knox returned oute of France.

Extracts of Letters relating to Knox and the English Congregation at Frankfurd.

I.

Joan. Calvinus Anglis Francford. S. D.[1]

Hoc vero me graviter excruciat, et valde absurdum est, inter Fratres ob eandem fidem à patria exules ac profugos dissidium oriri: et quidem hac de causa, quæ vel sola debuerat in hac vestra dispersione, quasi sacrum vinculum, vos simul devinctos tenere. Quid enim vobis in hac tristi et misera clade potius agendum erat, quam ut à patriæ visceribus avulsi, Ecclesiam vobis adoptaretis, quæ animis et linguis conjunctos, materno gremio exciperet ac foveret? Nunc vero de precandi forma, et ceremoniis quasi in otio et deliciis litem à quibusdam moveri, idque obstare quominus in unum Ecclesiæ corpus istic coalescatis, nimis, meo judicio, intempestivum est. Neque tamen eorum constantiam reprehendo, qui ut pro justa causa depug-

[1] A translation of this letter, which it appears was specially addressed to Knox and Whittingham, is already given in the Extracts from the "Brief Discourse," &c., at page 27. The original is now added from the edition of Calvin's Works, (Epistolæ et Responsa, p. 98,) Amsterdam, 1667, folio, as a recent biographer of Calvin says of the translation, "Some of the expressions are twisted to a meaning more favourable to the Frankfurt Congregation than the original warranta." —(Dyer's Life of Calvin, p. 427.)

nent, inviti in contentionem trahuntur: sed pertinaciam, quæ sanctum formandæ Ecclesiæ studium moratur et impedit, merito damno. Equidem ut in rebus mediis, ut sunt externi ritus, facilem me ac flexibilem præbeo: ita non semper utile esse judico, stultæ eorum morositati, qui nihil de consuetudine sua remittunt, obsequi. In Anglicana Liturgia, qualem describitis, multas video fuisse tolerabiles ineptias. His duobus verbis exprimo, non fuisse eam puritatem, quæ optanda fuerat: quæ tamen primo statim die corrigi non poterant vitia, quum nulla subesset manifesta impietas, ferenda ad tempus fuisse. Sic ergo à talibus rudimentis incipere licuit, ut doctos tamen probosque et graves Christi ministros ultra eniti, et aliquid limatius ac purius quærere, consentaneum foret. Si hactenus in Anglia viguisset sincera religio, aliquid in melius correctum, multaque detracta esse oportuit. Nunc quum eversis illis principiis, alibi instituenda vobis sit Ecclesia, et liberum sit formam, quæ ad usum et ædificationem Ecclesiæ maxime apta videbitur, de integro componere: quid sibi velint nescio, quos fæces Papisticæ reliquiæ tantopere delectant. Amant ea quibus assueti sunt. Hoc primo et nugatorium, et puerile est: deinde multum interest hæc nova institutio à mutatione. Ego vero, si quorundam infirmitas ad summum gradum non conscendat, ut vos ultra modum rigidos esse nolim: ita rursus alios monitos esse cupio, ne sibi in sua inscitia nimis placeant: deinde ne sua pervicacia sancti ædificii cursum retardent. Tertio, ne stulta eos æmulatio abripiat. Nam quæ illis rixandi causa, nisi quia pudet melioribus cedere? Sed ego frustra ad eos sermonem converto, qui forte non tantum mihi tribuunt, ut consilium à tali auctore profectum admittere dignentur. Si metuunt sinistrum in Anglia rumorem, quasi ab ea quæ illis exilii causa fuit, religione desciverint, longe falluntur. Potius enim fideles, qui illic residui sunt, hæc magis ingenua sinceraque professio expendere coget, in quam profundam abyssum ceciderint. Nam eos gravius suum præcipitium vulnerabit, ubi vos ultra medium cursum, unde retracti sunt, progredi viderint. Valete

integerrimi Fratres, et fideles Christi servi. Dominus vos tueri ac regere pergat. Genevæ, 15. Calendas Februarii[1] M.D.LV.

II.

THOMAS SAMPSON TO JOHN CALVIN.[2]

I DO not cease from doing here as I did at Lausanne, that is, I am expecting a reply from your kindness. And indeed I am more anxiously expecting it, in proportion as I perceive the flame is lighted up with increased vehemence amongst us English. For a strong controversy has arisen, while some desire the Book of Reformation of the Church of England to be set aside altogether, others only deem some things in it objectionable, such as kneeling at the Lord's Supper, the linen surplice, and other matters of this kind; but the rest of it, namely, the Prayers, Scripture lessons, and the form of the administration of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, they wish to be retained. Some contend for retaining the form, both because the Archbishop of Canterbury defends the doctrine as sound, and also, because the opposite party can assign no just reason why the form should be changed. They exclaim on the other hand, that the sole object of these persons is the establishment of ceremonies. You see, most excellent Calvin, how Satan is permitted, both at home and abroad, to rage against the English. May God have compassion upon us! and I entreat you, by Christ our common Saviour, to give your best consideration to these disturbances of ours, and shew me how we may best remedy this present evil. I well know how much weight the

[1] The 15th Calends of February was the 18th of January; in the translation, at page 30, the letter is dated the 20th of January.

[2] The original is printed in the "Epistolæ Tigurinæ," (Parker Society), p. 112. Calvin's reply, to which he makes an allusion in a subsequent letter (p. 58), is not preserved.

authority of your letters will have with both parties in the settlement of this dispute.

. . . . . .

Strasburgh, February 23, 1555.

Yours,

THOMAS SAMPSON.[1]

III.

WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM TO JOHN CALVIN.[2]

THE occasion that ought to bring us the greatest comfort from your most important letter,[3] has in a manner thrown us into the greatest anxiety and distress. For when there seemed likely to be no end to such noisy contentions, and on that account it was ordered by the Magistrate that we should comply with all the rites of the French Church, (unless there should happen to be any thing that might justly be found fault with); this circumstance so much offended some parties, that, leaving the contest about ceremonies, they betook themselves to forensic accusations. For Master Knox, being most unjustly charged before the Magistrate with high treason, has been ordered to quit the place, not without the regret of all good men, and even of the Magistrate himself. He is, therefore, on his way to you, and will explain the whole matter in order. This only I can speak from experience, that nothing ever occasioned greater distress and shame to good men than this wickedness has done. But I cannot now relate these things by reason of my grief, and he will himself explain them better and more

[1] Sampson was Rector of Allhallows, in Bread Street, London, and afterwards Dean of Chichester. He was designed by Queen Elizabeth to be Bishop of Norwich, but this he refused in consequence of his objections to the hierarchy and ceremonies of the English Church. In 1561, however, he was installed Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and survived till April 1589.—(Wood's Athenæ Oxon., by Bliss, vol. i. p. 549.)

[2] From the Zurich Letters, p. 764; the original is in the "Epistolæ Tigurinæ," p. 494.

[3] The letter to Knox and Whittingham, on the 18th of January 1555, see pages 27 and 51.

fully in person, as well as all other matters, of which I will describe the progress and result more at length after the fair. Farewell in Christ, and with your wonted affection aid us by your prayers and counsel. Frankfort, March 25, 1555.

WILL. WHITTINGHAM.[1]

IV.

RICHARD COXE AND OTHERS TO JOHN CALVIN.[2]

GREETING. After that our very dear brother Thomas Sampson had communicated to us sometime since the letter that you wrote to him touching our common controversy with certain brethren, we considered it a mark of our duty and regard to you to inform you, as early as possible, of all that has been done, and with what design. But though it may perhaps seem to you somewhat late to write to you, when the matter is altogether brought to a termination; yet we implore you by Jesus Christ, not to suppose that the delay has arisen from any desire unduly to undervalue your authority. For it both is, and ought to be, most highly esteemed and regarded, not only by ourselves, but by the world at large. But since your Reverence was many days' journey distant from us, and because there was great hope that all that controversy could be settled with less inconvenience between the brethren themselves, we were unwilling to disturb your most important meditations by our trifling and domestic concerns. But though we are very loth to suspect our brethren of any thing that savours of insincerity,

[1] "William Whittingham was concerned with Knox, Goodman, and others, in the translation of the Geneva Bible. He likewise translated some of the Psalms in Sternhold and Hopkin's version. He was ordained at Geneva, and on his return to England was made Dean of Durham, through the interest of the Earl of Leicester. He died in June 1579. For a further notice of him, see the references in the Index to Strype, and the Introduction to the Troubles of Frankfort, of which book he is supposed by Professor M'Crie to have been the author."—(Note by the Rev. Dr Hastings Robinson, Editor of the Original Letters, &c.)

[2] The original, in Latin, is printed in the "Epistolæ Tigurinæ," p. 487.

we are nevertheless somewhat afraid that the whole affair and case has not been set before you with sufficient explicitness. For neither are we so entirely wedded to our country, as not to be able to endure any customs differing from our own; nor is the authority of those fathers and martyrs of Christ so much regarded by us, as that we have any scruple in thinking or acting in opposition to it. And we have not only very frequently borne witness to this by our assertions, but have at length proved it by our actions. For when the Magistrates lately gave us permission to adopt the rites of our native country, we freely relinquished all those ceremonies which were regarded by our brethren as offensive and inconvenient. For we gave up private baptisms, confirmation of children, saints' days, kneeling at the holy communion, the linen surplices of the ministers, crosses, and other things of the like character. And we gave them up, not as being impure and papistical, which certain of our brethren often charged them with being; but whereas they were in their own nature indifferent, and either ordained or allowed by godly fathers for the edification of our people, we notwithstanding chose rather to lay them aside than to offend the minds, or alienate the affections of the brethren. We retain, however, the remainder of the form of Prayer and of the administration of the Sacraments, which is prescribed in our Book, and this with the consent of almost the whole church, the judgment of which in matters of this sort we did not think should be disregarded. With the consent likewise of the same church, there was forthwith appointed one pastor, two preachers, four elders, two deacons; the greatest care being taken that every one should be at perfect liberty to vote as he pleased; except only that by the command of the Magistrate, before the election took place, were set forth those articles lately published by the authority of King Edward, which contained a summary of our doctrine, and which we were all of us required to subscribe. For what kind of an election, they said, must be expected, unless the voters shall previously have agreed as to

Certain parties, who had before manifested some
, subscribed to these articles of their own accord.
v declined doing so, of whose peaceableness, neverthe-
entertain good hope.

ave thought fit to write thus fully to your kindness,
might ascertain the whole course of our proceedings
rselves. Our Liturgy is translated into French,[1] and
cles above mentioned have very lately been printed at
Did we not suppose that they would easily be met
ng you, we should take care that copies should be for-
ou. But we pray your kindness not to imagine that
aimed at any thing else throughout this whole busi-
this we testify before the Lord, than the purification
urch, and the avoiding of most grievous stumbling-
hich otherwise seemed to be hanging over us. May
Jesus very long preserve your piety to us and to his
Farewell. Frankfort, April 5, [1555.]

Your piety's most devoted

English exiles,

RICHARD COX.	EDMUND GRINDAL.
DAVID WHITEHEAD.	JOHN BALE.
RICHARD ALVEY.[2]	ROB. HORN.
THOMAS BECON.[3]	THO. LEVER.
EDWIN SANDYS.[4]	THO. SAMPSON.

vre des Prieres Communes,
nistration des Sacramens
remonies en l'Eglise d'An-
Traduit en Francoys par
hilippe, serviteur de Mon-
rand Chancellier d'Angle-
l'imprimerie de Thomas
553." 8vo. (Herbert's Ty-
, vol. iii. p. 766.) Thomas
Bishop of Ely, was then
cellor of England.
was made Prebendary of
r in 1552. (Strype's Eccl.
l. ii. p. 274.)

[3] Becon was a prolific author, and his works have been collected and republished by the Parker Society. He had been Chaplain to Cranmer, and was afterwards Prebendary of Canterbury, and Rector of St Stephen's, Walbrook. Becon died, it appears, about the year 1567.

[4] Sandys or Sandes, late Master of Katherine Hall, Cambridge, was successively Bishop of Worcester and London, and afterwards Archbishop of York. He died in July 1588.

V.

JOHN CALVIN TO RICHARD COXE AND OTHER ENGLISHMEN AT FRANKFURT.[1]

PARADVENTURE I answere your letter (Worshipfull freinds and brethern,) more slowlie then either ye hoped or looked for; but for so muche as ye knowe the wayes for a tyme so to be beset withe theves, that no messenger allmoste coulde passe from hence to yow, the excuse of my long delay towardes yow shalbe the easier.

I expressed my minde frankly to oure beloved brother, Thomas Sampson, of that wherof I was enformed by the letters of certeine men, as touchinge the contention unluckelie stirred up amonge yow. For certene of my freindes founde them selves greved, that yow woulde so preciselie urge the Ceremonies of Englande; whorby it might appeere that ye are more geven and addicte to your countrie then reason woulde. I confesse that I harde certeine reasons alledged on your behalf, whiche woulde not suffer yow to departe from the receyved Order; but they might be soone and easilie confuted. Nowe, as I counsailed mine owne freindes whiche dissented from yow, somewhat to yelde, yf they might conveniently; so it offended me that there was nothinge graunted or relented on your partes. Because there was no man named unto me, I durste not entreprise to medle with the matter, leaste my credit shuld incurre the suspecte of rashnes. Nowe that ye are more mylder and tractable in this controversie, and that ye have (as ye saie) stilled the matter withe quietnes, I am verie glad.

Verely no man well instructed, or of a sounde judgement,

[1] The original letter (in Latin) is printed in the collection of Calvin's Epistles (p. 98); but, by a typographical mistake, it is given with the address, "Calvinus Cnoxo, et Gregalibus. S. D." At the time it was written Knox was residing at Geneva. The above translation is printed from the "Brief Discourse," &c., p. 51.

leny (as I think) that Lights and Crossings, or suche like s, sprange or issued owte of Superstition; wherupon I am vaded that they whiche reteine theis ceremonies in a free ie, or when they maie otherwise doo, they are over-greedy desyrous to drink of the dregges. Nether do I se to what ose it is to burthen the Churche with tryflinge and unpro- le Ceremonies; or as I maie terme them with their propre , hurtefull and offensible ceremonies, when as there is tie to have a symple and pure Order. But I keepe in and ine my self, leaste I shulde seeme to beginne to move a contention of that matter, whiche, as yow reporte, is well d.

ll good men will allowe the Pastours and other Ministers ions with common voices, so that none complaine that the r parte of the churche was oppressed fraudulently and with ye practises. For it standethe your Wisedomes in hande nsider, that howe muche commoditie the goodnesse of the te dothe deserve, so muche envie shall yow be giltie of, or ged withall, yf yow have abused their lenitie or gentlenesse, he were so well affected towardes your Nation. Yet I de not have this so taken, that I go abowte to be prejudi- to anie man, but I had rather shewe plainely what maie ide, then to norishe an ill opinion by silence, or in hold- my peace. But certenly, this one thinge I cannot keepe t, that Maister Knox was, in my judgement, nether god- r brotherly dealt withall; if he were accused by the subtill estion of certeine, it had byn better for them to have taried in their owne lande, then unjustly to have brought into countries the fierbrande of crueltie, to set on fier those that de not be kindled.

otwithstandinge, because it greveth me to speak sleightly of evells, the remembrance wherof I woulde wishe to be ed in perpetuall forgetfullnes; therfore I onely counsaile (not withowt a cause) to be wounded, that ye applie your s to make them amendes for the faulte committed.

When I harde that the one parte was minded to departe from thens,[1] I earnestly admonished them (as it became me) that if they couldle not well remaine there, that the distance of place shulde not dissipate, or rent in sunder their brotherly agrement; for I feared muche least that some privie grudge of the former contention remained. And certainely, nothinge coulde more comforte my harte, than to be delyvered from this feare. For if anie haplie come to us, it woulde grieve me that there shulde be (as it were) but a suspition of any secret debate betwene yow.

Therfore as touchinge that ye have written of your Agrement, I desier that it maie be firme and stable; that if it chaunce the one parte to go to an other place, yet, that yow beinge so sundred by distance of places, maie keepe sure the holie bande of amitie: for the fault alreadie committed is too muche, although thorowgh discorde it creepe no further. Wherfore it shall well beseeme your Wisedomes (that ye maie be freinds) to purge diligentlie what so ever remainethe of this breache. Fare ye well, Brethern; the Lorde succour yow with his aide, and governe yow with his Spirite; powre his blessinges upon yow, and mittigate the sorowe of your exile. From Geneva, this last of Maie.[2] Anno 1555.

Your, JOHN CALVIN.

To the Worshippfull my lovinge Brethern
in the Lorde, Maister Richard Coxe,
and the rest of the Englishemen whiche
nowe remaine at Frankford.

[1] They begin pretely.—(*Mary. note.*)

[2] The Latin is dated "Pridie Idus, Junii, 1555," which would make it the 12th of June. It probably should have been printed "Prid. Cal. Junii," or the 31st of May; as in the above translation.

VI.

Bishop Ridley to Bishop Grindal.[1]

Alas! that our brother Knox could not bear with our Book of Common Prayer; matters against which although, I graunt, a man (as he is) of wit and learning may find to make apparaunt reasons;[2] but I suppose he cannot be able soundly to disprove by God's Word. The reason he maketh against the Letany, and the fault *Per Sanguinem et Sudorem*,[3] he findeth in the same, I do marvail how he can or dare avouch them before the English men that be with you. As for private Baptism, it is not prescribed in the Book; but where solemn Baptism, for lack of time and danger of death, cannot be had, what would he in that case should be done? Peradventure, he will say, It is better then to let them dye without Baptism. For this his 'better,' what word hath he in the Scripture? And if he have none, why will he not rather follow that that the sentences of the old ancient writers do more allow? from whom, to dissent without warrant of God's Word, I cannot think it any godly wisdom. As for Purification of Women, I ween the word 'purification' is changed, and it is called Thanksgiving; [but the Book is taken from us, and now I do not perfectly remember the thing; but this I am sure of, the matter there said all

[1] An extract of this letter was printed by Dr Covel, in his "Brief Answer to J. Burge's Reasons," &c. 1606, p. 69; and again, by Strype, in his "Life of Archbishop Grindal," p. 19, from which it is here printed, with the passages inclosed in the brackets, from the Parker Society edition of Bishop Ridley's Works, p. 533. Strype introduces the letter with these words: "And holy Bishop Ridley, hearing of the Controversies stirred there at Frankford about the Common-Prayer-Book used in the Church of England under King Edward, writes thus to the same Grindal a little before his martyrdom." The date of Ridley's martyrdom was the 16th of October 1555.

[2] Covel and Strype explain this "meaning, plausible reasons."

[3] This is corrected to "*Per sanguineum sudorem*," by the editor of the Parker Society volume. Strype has, "By the Cross and bloody Sweat."

tendeth to give God thanks, and to none other end.] Surely Mr Knox is, in my mind, a man of much good learning, and of an earnest zeal: The Lord graunt him to use them only to his glory.

[Where ye say, ye were by the Magistrates required gently to omit such things in your Book as might offend their people, not as things unlawful, but to their people offensive, and so ye have done, as to the having of surplice and kneeling; truly in that, I cannot judge, but that both ye and the Magistrates have done right well; for I suppose in things indifferent, and not commanded or forbidden by God's Word, and wherein the customs of divers countries be diverse, the man of God, that hath knowledge, will [not] stick to forbear the custom of his own country, being those where the people therewith will be offended; and surely if I might have done so much with our Magistrates, I would have required Mr Alasco[1] to have done no less when he was with us.]

VII.

The Minister and other Members of the English Congregation at Frankfurt to John Calvin.[2]

. . . . . .

But leaving these things, let us return to the business of Knox, wherein you greatly desire godliness and brotherly love on the part of those who were implicated in it. We will, therefore, briefly and truly explain to you the history of the

[1] Alasco, more properly John à Lasco, an eminent Polish Reformer, who was placed at the head of the Foreign Reformed Congregations in London during the reign of Edward the Sixth.

[2] From the valuable collection of "Original Letters, relative to the English Reformation, chiefly from the Archives of Zurich, translated and edited for the Parker Society, by the Rev. Hastings Robinson, D.D." Cambridge, 1847. 8vo. The original, in Latin, is printed in the "Epistolæ Tigurinæ," p. 489.

whole affair. There were, at that time, certain parties in our Church, who, instructed by long practice and experience, were able easily to foresee and conceive beforehand in their minds the evils that were either already impending over our Church, or might happen to it in future. These persons understood that Knox had published a certain book,[1] which they perceived would supply their enemies with just ground for overturning the whole Church. For there were interspersed in this publication atrocious and horrible calumnies against the Queen of England, whom Knox called at one time the wicked Mary, at another time a monster. And he exasperated King Philip also by language not much less violent. When these men had read this infamous libel, attached as they are to true religion and to our Church, they considered it neither profitable nor safe to ourselves that Knox should be received with favour by our church. One of them, therefore, called upon the intimate friends of Knox, and pointed out to him that it would be most advisable for Knox to leave the Church, and depart to some other place; and this he earnestly recommended him to do. Not succeeding in this, our friends, having more closely considered the danger which without doubt was hanging over them, thought it right to proceed in a different way. The matter was at last brought before the Magistrates, with no other view than that Knox might be ordered to quit the place. When the Magistrate was made acquainted with the case, and had also discovered that the Emperor was defamed in that pamphlet; considering that a man of this kind might easily occasion danger, not only to our Church, but also to his State, he ordered him to leave the city.

[1] "This book was entitled, 'An Admonition to Christians.' The substance of it was first preached in Buckinghamshire. Nine places therein were laid to the charge of Knox, in one of which he called the Emperor 'no less an enemy to Christ than was Nero.' See M'Crie's Life of Knox. Fuller, Ch. Hist. ii. 412. Soames, iv. 564. Troubles of Frankfort, 44. The whole account is given in Strype, Mem. iii. 1. 406."—(Note by the Rev. Dr Hastings Robinson, Editor of the Original Letters, &c.) The Admonition itself is republished in the previous volume of Knox's Works.

Thus you have the whole affair as it really took place; nor would we for the sake of our friends evade the subject, by holding back any thing, or obscure it by our relation of it. Something was conceded to Knox. For our party had observed some other things in him, which we have now purposely forborne to mention, but which induced them to desire his departure. But these clearly were the reasons which drove our friends to this step, and it was altogether in this way that they got rid of that affair. But what an occasion for disseminating falsehoods these authors of confusion thence laid hold of, what dreadful language they uttered, what disturbance they excited, must be matter of wonder to every one who is unacquainted with their character: especially when they even prevailed upon you to write concerning men who were in every respect innocent, that "it had been better for them to have remained in their own country, than to have brought over to a distant land the firebrand of unjust severity."[1] If those who occasioned Knox's departure from hence had been in any way known to you, you would assuredly have dealt more gently with them. For scarce any man living is more remote from cruelty than, by the grace of God, those persons both are and have been.[2] Certainly, when an account of what they had done was demanded of them by our pastor, they gave such a straightforward statement, that, scrupulous as he is in every thing else, he had nothing whatever to find fault with. For you cannot but be aware, how unbecoming it would have been in us impotently to rage in half-muttered abuse against Magistrates; not, perhaps, because they do not deserve it, but because of the office imposed upon them by God. This we can assure you, that that outrageous pamphlet of Knox's added much oil to the

[1] Calvin's letter adds, "quæ nolentes quoque inflammet," to set on fire those that would not be kindled. —(Editor of the Parker volume.)

[2] "This one thing I cannot keep secret, that Master Knox was, in my judgment, neither godly nor brotherly dealt withal."—(Calvin: Troubles of Frankfort.) See *supra*, p. 59.

ame of persecution in England.[1] For before the publication f that book, not one of our brethren had suffered death; but s soon as it came forth, we doubt not but that you are well ware of the number of excellent men who have perished in he flames; to say nothing of how many other godly men be- ides have been exposed to the risk of all their property, and ven life itself, upon the sole ground of either having had his book in their possession, or having read it; who were per- aps rescued from the sword at greater cost and danger of ife than the others offered their necks to it. But enough of these things.

You piously exhort us that, if we perceive that the minds of some parties are wounded not without cause, we should endeavour to make amends for the injury. But when you have left no stone unturned to heal those persons who have inflicted their wounds upon themselves, and have nevertheless lost all your pains, what can you possibly do for them? You say that you have "diligently admonished those who are minded to leave us, that their departure should not rend asunder the agreement of the brethren." We wish that your Wisdom had foreseen this, and that the authority of your letter had not given encouragement to the former quarrel, before you had heard the other side of the question. We wish that your sagacity had anticipated what was the tendency of their designs, namely, to open faction, to say nothing more. For they themselves now presume to write that they are ready to maintain the lawfulness of their secession from our church. We certainly hoped, indeed, when we wrote to you, that our reconciliation would have been lasting; and your friend Whittingham, with all the rest of his party, except three or four, had given in his adhesion to our church. But oh! like true Proteuses, they now make subterfuges, and shamefully desert us, under I know not what pretence. We know not whence this change of sentiment has arisen; but we leave you to judge what opinion must

[1] See vol. iii. p. 256.

be entertained of those persons who tell you that they leave the church solely on account of ceremonies, which even they themselves dare no longer affirm to be ungodly, or can prove to be at variance with the Word of God, or in any way unprofitable. We pray God to bestow upon them a better mind; and we earnestly entreat you no longer to mix yourself up in so hateful a business, lest some disparagement should arise to your reputation, which we desire should at all times be most honourable and holy. May the Lord Jesus preserve you as an especial ornament to his church!

Frankfort, September 20,[1] 1555.

Your admirers,

DAVID WHITEHEAD, Pastor.
RICHARD ALVEY.
RICHARD COX.
HENRY PARRY.
THOMAS BECON, Minister of the Word of God.
BARTH. TRAHERON.[2]
THOMAS COTTISFORD.[3]

VIII.

CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN TO DR PETER MARTYR.[4]

. . . . . .

For which reason, as I deny not that I had much to regret in that Frankfort controversy; so indeed, though it occasioned

[1] In the Latin letter, the 23d of September.—(*Epist. Tigur.* p. 493.)

[2] Bartholomew Traheron, or Trahern, was educated at Oxford, and after travelling for some years in Germany and Italy he took holy orders, and was preferred to the Deanery of Chichester. He became "Divinity Reader" to the English exiles at Frankfurt. See Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (by Bliss, vol. i. p. 324) for a list of his works.

[3] Thomas Cottisford, or Cotsforde, was the translator of the "Confession of the Faith of Huldrik Zuinglius, sent to the Counsell at Augsburg," in 1530, and printed at Geneva in the year 1555, 8vo. In his edition of Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. i. p. 231, Dr Bliss has given an account of his life and writings. According to Bale, he died at Frankfurt in 1555.

[4] From the Rev. Dr Robinson's volume of Zürich Letters, p. 769; the original, in Latin, is contained in the Parker Society volume, "Epistolæ Tigurinæ," p. 497.

great uneasiness in common with the rest, I do not now
nt of having stood forth and laboured with others in that
e, which has been the chief occasion of that happy agree-
t and solid peace which, by the great blessing of God, we
y in this place; which I persuade myself never would have
rred, if for the sake of the other party it had been permit-
to contaminate the purity of religion with the dregs of Po-
which they wished to force upon us. For by such conduct
should deservedly have been called traitors to the truth,
that too against our own convictions; and those who have
ertinaciously endeavoured to load the free consciences of
brethren with unprofitable ceremonies and paltry ordinances
an, would not so readily have been brought to an acknow-
nent of their offence. If Paul and Barnabas had given
to the brethren who came from Jerusalem to Antioch,
had not withstood the doctrine of those persons with all
might, what a pestilence would have spread throughout
ne churches! And if Peter, James, and the rest, had re-
l to deliver their opinion to Paul and Barnabas when they
d for it, how would they themselves have been otherwise
cruel to the brethren, and faithless before God? They
ght fit therefore so to condescend to the infirmity of their
ren, as yet meanwhile not to withhold their sentiments on
ide of truth. And as to the contention which then seemed
nd calamitous, it was shortly afterwards evident how ne-
ry it was to those churches, and useful to us who come
them. Since therefore they are set before us as an ex-
le in those things which relate to God, we may safely imi-
them; not only that we may boldly contend for the truth,
her it be against open enemies, or against those who wish
e called brethren; but also that we may not refuse our
ort, whenever it is demanded with simplicity, and for the
of arriving at the truth. And though in this case it may
fficult to avoid the imputation of being contentious, yet
our conscience bears witness to us that we are averse

from strife, and that we do not regard the opinions of men, but the cause of the contention itself, we must faithfully discharge our duty, and leave the event to Almighty God, who will defend his own cause.

. . . . . .

Geneva, August 20, 1558.

Your disciple,

CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN.[1]

[1] "Christopher Goodman, son of William, an Englishman, of Chester, had been gratuitously admitted a citizen at his own request.—(*Extract from the Council-Book of Geneva, dated June* 1, 1558.) He was concerned in the Geneva translation of the Bible. See many references to him in the Index to Strype. He left Frankfort about September 1555 for Geneva, and was chosen with Knox as pastor of the church in that place."—(*Note by the Rev. Dr Hastings Robinson, translator and editor of the Parker Society volume of Original Letters, &c.*)

A LETTER

TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER,

REGENT OF SCOTLAND.

MAY M.D.LVI.

e have seen that Knox took leave of his brethren at Frank-t on the 26th of March 1555. He returned to Geneva, ere there were several English residents, and among whom probably resumed, for a short period, his ministerial labours; his affections being drawn to his native country, he pro-ded to Dieppe in August, and sailed from that port with a sel which landed him on the east coast, near the boun-ies of the two kingdoms.

The precise time of his marriage with Marjory Bowes is newhat uncertain. A solemn engagement had taken place the year 1553; but her youth, the opposition of her father, hard Bowes of Aske, to the alliance, and the troubles which ve Knox from England, had evidently the effect of deferring o a more propitious season; and it is not improbable that desire to complete his long-contemplated engagement, had small influence in inducing him to revisit his native coun-. On his landing, he immediately repaired to Berwick, ere he found his affianced wife and her mother enjoying the piness of religious society. He afterwards visited Scot-d, and in a letter addressed to Mrs Bowes on the 4th of vember, he expresses his astonishment and delight at the ent zeal for religion which prevailed, and which, "if he had seen with his eyes in his own country, he could not have ieved." This letter will be introduced into a subsequent tion of the present volume.

During the eight or nine months which Knox spent now in tland, the influence which he exerted in promoting the se of the Reformation can scarcely be over-estimated. In

the month of May 1556, at the solicitation of the Earls Marischal and Glencairne, he addressed the following Letter to the Queen Regent, in the hope that she might be persuaded to extend protection to the reformed preachers, or, as it might happen, to listen favourably to their doctrine. The supercilious manner in which the Queen termed this letter "a Pasquil," is mentioned by Knox himself in his History,[1] as well as in the additions to the Letter itself, when republished in 1558.

The text of the Letter is here given from the old printed edition. In Dr M'Crie's MS. it is inserted, with this marginal note: "This is his first Letter to her in the yeir 1556: the other is inlargeit and written in the year 1558." It has however evidently been copied from the printed edition of 1558, and it would be unnecessary to point out all the various readings, as the latter copy will be included in the present volume under its proper date.

[1] Vol. i. p. 252.

The copie of a letter sent to the ladye Mary Dowagire, Regent of Scotlande, by Iohn Knox in the yeare. 1556.

¶ Here is also a notable sermon, made by the sayde Iohn Knox. wherin is euydentlye proued that the masse is and alwayes hath ben abhominable before God and Idolatrye.

Scrutamini Scripturas.

The original is a little volume in black-letter, sign. A to H, in eights, measuring 3¼ inches by 2¼. It is printed with the same types as the early edition of "The Spiritual and Precious Pearle," translated by Edward Duke of Somerset; the tracts by "Gracious Menewe," and Knox's "Exposition on the Sixth Psalm." It was no doubt printed towards the close of 1556, the year in which the Letter was written, soon after Knox had returned from Scotland. The "Notable Sermon," mentioned on the title as forming part of the volume, is already reprinted as "A Vindication of the Doctrine that the Mass is Idolatry," (Vol. iii. p. 33–70.)

ɔ THE EXCELLENT LADY MARY DOUAGIRE, REGENT OF SCOTLAND, HIR HUMBLE SUBJECT, JOHN KNOX, WISHETH GRACE, MERCY, AND PEACE FROM GOD THE FATHER OF OURE LORD JESUS CHRIST, WITH THE SPIRITE OF PERFECT JUDGEMENT.

HE eternall providence of the ever-lyvynge God hath appointed s chosen children to fight in this wretched and transitory lyfe, battel difficil, and the maner of their preservation in the me battel to be more mervellous. Their victory standeth GENE. 3. MATH. 10. ACTES 14. MATH. 13. JERE. 14, 16. ESAI 60, 61, 62. EXOD. 1. in resisting, but in suffering. And how they can be prerved, and not brought to uttermoste confusion, the eye of an perceyveth not. [Our soverane Master pronounceth to s Discipillis, that in thair pacience suld thai possess their ullis. And the same foirsaw the Prophet Ysay, when that paynteth furth all uther battell to be with violence, tumulte, d blud-scheding; but the victorie of Godis pepill to be in yetnes, sylence, and hoip; meanyng, that all utheiris that tene victorie, do inforce theme selves to resist thair adversaes, to sched blude, and to murther. But so do not the elect God, but all thingis thai sustene at the commandement of im who hath apoyntit thame to suffer, being most assuredlie rsuadit, that then onlie thai triumphe, when all men judge ame oppressit; for in the cross of Chryst alwayis is includit IN THE CROSS OF CHRYST IS VICTORIE HID. secreit and hid victorie, never weill knawin till the sufferer peir altogether to be (as it wer) exterminat. For then onlie d the blude of Abell cry to God, when proud Cayn judgeit l memorie of his brother to haif bene extinguischit: And sa say, thair victorie is mervalous; and how that thai can be

preservit and not brocht to utter confusion, the eye of man perceaveth not.][1] But [He] whose power is infinite, by secrete and hidden motions, toucheth the hartes of such as, to man's judgement, have power to destroye them, of very pitie and compassion to save his people. As he dyd the hartes of the Egyptian mydwyves to preserve the men children of the Israelites, when precept was geven by Pharao of their destruction: the harte of
EXO. II. Pharao's doghter to pitie Moyses, in his young infancy exposed
ACTS VII. to the danger of waters: the harte of Nabuchodonasar to preserve the captyves alyve, and liberally to norishe the children that were founde apte to lettres: And fynally, the harte of Cyrus to sett at libertye the people of God, after long bondage and thraldom. And thus doth the invisible power and love of God, manifest itselfe towardes his elect frome tyme to tyme, for two causes: First, to comforte his weake warryors in their manifolde temptations, letting theym to understande that he is able to compell suche, as some tyme were enemies to his people, to
I. I. fight in their cause; and also (as by his Prophet Esaie he doth promyse) to promote their delyveraunce. And Secundarily, to gyve a testimony of his favour to them, that by all
EPH. II. apperance did lyve before (as Saint Paule speaketh), "wanting God in the world, strangers from the commonwealth of Israel, and wythout the league of his mercyfull promes and free grace made to his church." For who could have affirmed that one of
HEB. XI. these persones afore named, or yet Rahab, had bene so loving, faithful, and gentle, before that occasion was offered unto theym to manifeste theyr nature and clemency? But the workes of mercye shewed to the afflicted, have left to us assurances that God used theym as vessels of his honor. For pitie and mercy shewedde to his afflicted flocke, as they never lacked reward temporal, so if they be contynewed, and be not changed into crueltye, are assured signes and sealles of everlasting mercy to be receyved from God, who, by hys Holy Spirite, moveth their

[1] This passage and some other words inclosed within brackets, are not contained in the original edition, and are supplied from MS. M.

harts to shewe mercye to the people of God oppressed and afflicted.

Your Grace perchance doeth wonder to what purpose these thinges be recyted: and I in very dede can not wonder ynough, that occasion is offered to me (a worme most wretched) to recyte the same at this present. For I have looked rather for the sentence of deathe, then to have written to your Grace in these last and manifest wicked[1] dayes, in which Sathan so blyndeth the hartes of many, [that innocentis ar dampnit, thair cause never tryit.]

I doubt not but the rumors whiche came to youre Grace's eares of me have bene suche, that if all reportes were trew, I were unworthy to lyve on the earth. And wonder it is, that the voyces of the multitude shoulde not so have enflammed your Grace's harte with just hatered of such a one as I am accused to be, that all accesse to pitie should have bene shut up. I am traduced as an heretyke, accused as a fals teacher and seducer of the people, besides other opprobries, which, affirmed by men of worldly honor and estymation, may easely kyndle the wrath of Magistrates when innocency is not knowen. But blessed be God, the Father of oure Lorde Jesus Christe, who, by the dewe of hys heavenly grace, hath so quenched the fyre of displeasure in youre Grace's harte (whiche of late dayes I have understood) that Sathan is frustrate of his enterpryse and purpose, which is to my harte no small comforte; not so muche (God is witnes) for any benefit that I can receave in this miserable lyfe by protection of any earthly creature, (for the cuppe which it behoveth me to drynke is appointed by the wysdome of Him whose counsailes are not changeable,) as that I am for that benefit, which, I am assured, your Grace shall receyve, if that ye continewe in lyke moderation and clemency towardes others that most unjustly are and shalbe accused, as that your Grace hath begonne towardes me and my moste desperate matter.[2] That is, if by godly wysdome ye shall study to

[1] In MS. M. "most wicked." [2] In MS. M. "most disperat cause."

brydle the fury and rage of theym, who, for maintenance of their worldly pompe, regarde nothing the cruel murdering of
TH. 4. TH. 10. symple innocents; then shall He, who pronounceth mercy to apperteyn to the mercifull, and promiseth that a cuppe of colde water geven for hys name's sake shall not lacke rewarde, fyrst cause your happy government to be praysed in this present age, and in posterities to come; and laste, recompens your godly paynes and study with that joy and glory whiche the eye hath not sene, nor yet can enter into the harte of mortall creature.

Superfluous and foolishe it shall appeare to many that I, a man of base estate and condition, dare enterprise to admonishe a Princess so honorable, endewed with wisdome and graces singulerly. But when I consider the honor that God command-
D. 32. E. 13. ET. 2. eth to be geven to Magistrates, which, no doubte, if it be trew honor, conteyneth in itself, in lawfull thinges obedience, and in all thinges love and reverence; when, further, I consider the troublesome estate of Christ Jesus trew religion, this daye
1 STATE. oppressed by blindnes of men; and last, the multitude of flatterers, and the rare number of them that boldelye and playnelye dare speake the naked veritie in presence of thair Princes, and principally in the cause of Christe Jesus: These thinges, I say, considered, whatsoever any man shall judge of my enterprise, I am compelled to say [that],

Oneles[1] in your regiment[2] and using of power, your Grace be founde different from the multitude of Princes and head rulers, that this pre-eminence wherein ye ar placed shal be your dejection to torment and payn everlasting. This proposition is sore; but, alas! it is so trew, that if I shulde concele and hyde it from your Grace, I committed no lesse treason against your Grace, then I did if I saw you by imprudency take a cuppe which I knew to be poysoned or envenomed, and
D. 14, 17. yet wolde not admonishe you to absteyn from drincking of the same.

[1] Oneles, unless. [2] Regiment, government.

The religion whiche this day men defende by fyre and swearde is a cuppe envenomed, of which whosoever drinck-eth, (except, by trew repentance, he after drincke of the water of lyfe,) drincketh therewith damnation and death. How, and by whome it hath bene envenomed, if it were no more tediouse to youre Grace to reade and heare, then it is paynfull to me to write or reherse, I wold not spare the labor. But for this present, I have thought it some discharge of a parte of my duty, if I of very love admonish your Grace of that danger: which I do, (as God one daye shall declare,) preferring your Grace's salvation, and the salvation of the people now committed to youre care,[1] before any corporal benefyt that can redounde to my self.

Ye thinke, peradventure, that the care of religion is not committed to Magistrates, but to the Bishoppes and Estate Ecclesiastical, as they terme it: No, no, the negligence of Bishoppes shall no lesse be requyred of the handes of Magistrates (because they foster and maintein them in tyranny) then shall the oppression of fals judges, whiche kynges mainteyn and defend.[2] I doubte not but that your Grace doeth wonder, howe that the religion that is universally receyved can be so damnable and so corrupted. But if youre Grace shall consider, that ever from the beginning, the multitude hath declined from God; yea, even in the people, to whome he spake by his lawe and prophets; if ye shall consider the complaynte of the Holy Ghoste, complayn- PSALM. 2. ACTO. 4. inge that nations, people, princes, and kynges of the earth, have raged, made conspiracies, and helde counsailles against the Lord,

[1] In MS. M. "your charge."

[2] In MS. M. this sentence reads: "But disceave not your self; for the negligence of bishopis sall no less be requyrit of the handes of magistrates than sall the oppression of fals judges; for thai unjustlie promote, foster, and manteane the one and the other. The false and corrupt judge to spoyle the guidis and to oppress the bodies of the sympill; but the proude prelatis do kingis mantene to murther the soullis, for the whilk the blude of Christ Jesus was sched. And that thai do, either by withholding from thame the trew word of lyfe, or ellis by causing teache thame a pestilent doctrine, sic as now is taught in the papisticall kirkis. I know, that ye wonder how that the religion," &c.

and against his anointed Christe Jesus; further, if ye shall consider the question whiche Christe Jesus hymself doeth move in
LUC. 18. these wordes, "When the Sonne of man shall come, shall he fynde fayth in the earth?" and, last, if your Grace shall consider the manifest contempt of God, and of all his holy preceptes, whiche this day raygneth[1] without punishmement upon
OSE. 4. the face of the whole earth; for, as Oseas complayneth, "There is no veritie, there is no mercy, there is no knowledge of God in the earth, but lyes, perjury, murther, theft, and adultery overflow all, and bloud hath touched bloud;" that is, every iniquitie is joyned to an other. If, depely, I say, youre Grace shall consider and contemplate the universal corruption that thys day reygneth in al estates, then shal your Grace cease to
MATH. 20. MATH. 7. 2 THES. 2. wonder "that many are called and few are chosen." And ye shall begyn to tremble, [and feare] to folowe the multitude to perdition.

The universall defection, whereof Sainct Paul did prophesy, is easy to be espyed as well in religion as in manners. The corruption of lyfe is evident, and religion is not [judged nor] measured with the playne Worde of God, but by custome, consuetude, will, consent, and determinations of men. But shal He who hath pronounced all cogitations of man's hart to be vayn at all tyme, accept the counsaylles and consentes of men, for a religion pleasinge and acceptable before hym? Let not youre Grace be disceaved: God can not deny hym selfe: He hathe witnessed from the beyginnynge, that no
DEUT. 4, 12. religion pleaseth Hym, except that which He, by hys owne Worde, hath commanded and established. The Veritie it self pronounceth this sentence: "In vayne do they worshippe me,
MATH. 15. teaching doctrines, the preceptes of men;" and also, "All plantation that my Heavenlye Father hathe not planted shall be routed out." Before the cumming of his well-beloved Sonne in the fleshe, severallye[2] he punished al such as durst entreprise to alter or change his ceremonies or statutes, as in Saule, Uzias,

[1] In MS. M. "ringeth," reigneth. [2] In MS. M., and edit. 1558, "severelie."

Nadab, and Abihu, is to be redde. And wil He now, after that he hath opened his whole counsail to the world, by his onlye Sonne, whom he hath commanded to be hearde; and after that He, by hys Holy Spirit speaking in his Apostles, hath established the religion in whiche he willeth hys trewe worshippers to abyde to the end: will He now, I say, admitte man's inventions, in the matter of religion, whiche before he reputed for damnable idolatry! If man or aungels wolde affirme that He will or may do it, his own veritie shal convict them of a lye; for this sentence, which he once pronunced, shall abyde immutable to the ende: "Not that which appeareth good in thine eyes shall thou do to the Lorde thy God; but what the Lord thy God hath commanded thee, that do thou: adde nothinge to it, dyminishe nothinge from it." The which thinge (sealing up hys New Testament) he repeteth in these words: "I will lay none other burthen upon you, but that which ye have hold till I come." And, therefore, yet again it repenteth me not to say, that in this point, whiche is chief and principale, your Grace must dissent from the multitude of rulers, or els ye can possesse no portion with Christ Jesus in his kyngdome and glory.

RE. 13, 14. LEVI. 10. MATH. 7. AC. 1, 15, 14. 1 COR. 11.

APOCAL. 2.

An orator, and Goddes messinger also, justlye mighte requyre of you, (nowe by Goddes hande promoted to hye dignitie,) a motherly pitie uppon your subjects, a justice inflexible to be used against murtherers and common oppressours, a hart voyde of avarice and partialitie, a mynd studiouse and carefull for maintenance of that realme and common wealth above whiche God hath placed you, and by it hath made you honorable; with the rest of the virtues whiche not onely Goddes Scriptures, but also wryters illuminated onely with the light of nature, requyreth in godlye rulers. But vayn it is to crave reformation in manners, where the religion is corruptit. For like as a man can not do the office of a man, except first he have a being or a life, so to worke workes pleasant in the sight of God the Father, can no man do without the spirite of the Lorde Jesus, which doth not abyde in the hartes of idolaters.

NOTA.

E. 18.
A. 17.
E. 22.
A. 29, 30. 31.

And, therefore, the moste godly princes Josias, Ezechias, and Josaphat, seeking Goddes favor to rest upon them and upon their people, before all thinges began to reforme the religion. For it is as the stomake within the body, whiche, if it be corrupted, of necessitie it infecteth the whole masse. And, therefore (oft I repete that which is most necessary), if your Grace pretend to raigne[1] with Christ Jesus, then it behoveth you to take care over his true religion, the whiche this daye within your realme is so deformed, that no part of Christes ordinances remayn in their first strength and original puritie; the which, I praise God, is lesse difficil to me to prove than dangerous to speake. And yet, neither the one nor the other I fear, partly because the love of life eternall quencheth the terrour of temporall death; and partely because I wolde, with Sainct Paule, wishe my self accurssed from Christe, as touching earthely pleasures, for the salvation of my brethren, and illumination of your Grace. Which thing, work, and very dede, and not bare word and wryting, shall witnes and declare, if I maye purchase the libertie of tounge but fortye dayes only.

PAULE REFLI. IN RE. INETH CORRUPT.

ETICION.

I am not ignorant how dangerous a thing it appeareth to the natural man, to innovate any thing in matters of religion. And, partlie, I consider that your Grace's power is not so fre as a publik reformation perchance woulde requyre.

OBJEC. N OF THE SHE.

But if your Grace shal consider the daunger, and damnation perpetuall, which inevytably hangeth upon all mainteyners of a fals religion, then shall the greatest daunger easely devoure and swallow up the smaller. If your Grace shall consider, that either ye must serve God to lyfe everlasting, or else serve the Worlde to death and damnation, then, albeit man and aungel shoulde disswade you, ye will chuse lyfe and refuse death. And if further, ye shall consider, that the very lyfe consisteth in the knowledge of the onelye trewe God, and of his Sonne Christ Jesus; and that trewe knowledge hath annexed with it Goddes worshippinge and honor, which requireth a testimony of his

AN. ER.

TH 6. H. 6. 10. 18.

[1] In M.S. M. "ring," reign.

own will, expressed by his Worde, that suche honor doeth please Him:

If youre Grace, I say, shall earnestly meditate these thinges aforesaid, then, albeit sodenlye ye may not do all thinges that ye wold, yet shall ye not cease to do what ye maye. Your Grace can not hastely abolishe all superstition, neither yet remove from offices unprofitable pastors, which onely fede themselfes, the which to publique reformation are requisite and necessary; but yet, if the zeal of Goddes glory be fervent in your Grace's hart, by wicked lawes ye will not mainteyn manifest idolatrye, neither yet will ye suffer the fury of Bisshoppes to murther and devoure the poore members of Christes body. But with all carefull diligence, ye will study how that the trewe worshippinge of God maye be promoted, and the tyranny of ungodly men repressed within the boundes of youre dominion, to the uttermost of your power.

And if the contrary hereof, either by ignorance or for pleasure of others, ye do permit to be done, then (except your speedy repentance) shall ye and your posteritie sodenly feill the depressing hande of Him who hath exalted you. Ye shalbe compelled (nil ye, wil ye,) to know that He is eternal against whome ye addresse your battel; and that he is alone that moderateth the tymes and disposeth kingdomes; that it is he that glorifieth them that glorifieth him, and that he by his own power poureth forth contempt upon all princes that rebell against his graces offered.[1] DANI. 2. JERE. 27. 1 REG. 2.

And, therefore, how dangerous soever it shall appear to the fleshe and natural man to obey God in promoting his religion, and to make warre against the Devill, in removing darknes, pryde, and superstition; yet if your Grace looke to have your self, or yet youre seede after you, to continue in a worldely honor, and after to possesse the lyfe everlasting, submit your self, by time, under the hande of Hym that is omnipotent, embrace his will, despise not hys testament, refuse not hys graces offerred.[2] COUNSAILL.

[1] In the orig. edit. "offere."

[2] In the orig. edit. "offere."

Nowe, when he calleth you, withdrawe not your eare, be not led awaye with that vayn opinion, that youre churche[1] and prelates cannot erre, but laye the booke of God before your eyes, and lette it be a judge to their lyves, doctrine, and manners; as also to that doctryne whiche by fyre and sworde most cruelly they persecut.

I confesse that I desyre your Grace to enter into a straunge and grevous battel; nevertheles, yet assured I am by the promise of Him by whome kinges do raygne, that if, with reverence
2 PAR. 3, 4. and feare, ye obey his preceptes, as did Josias the admonitions of the Prophetes, that then with double benediction shall your battell be rewarded; that is, wisdom, ryches, glory, honor, and longe lyfe shall accompany you in this your regiment temporal, and immortalitie, with joy inestimable, shalbe your portion when the King of all kinges, the Lord Jesus, shal appere to judgemente, before whome ye shall make accompt of this youre
MATH. 24. ISAI. 10. APOC. 6. regyment, when the proude and disobedient shall cry, "Mountaines fall upon us, and hyde us from the face of the Lorde." But then it shalbe too late, because they despised the voyce of him that lovingly calleth.

God the Father of our Lorde Jesus Christe, by the power of his Holy Spirite, so illuminate your senses and understanding, that the things, that rudely be here spoken, by your Grace so may be accepted, that they be not a testimony of youre juste damnation in that great daye of the Lorde Jesus, to whose mighty protection I unfaynedlie committe your Grace, nowe and ever. AMEN.

[1] In MS. M. "kirk."

AN EXPOSITION

UPON MATHEW IV.,

CONCERNING THE TEMPTATION OF CHRIST

IN THE WILDERNESS.

M.D.LVI.

THE following Exposition of the Temptation of Christ in the Wilderness, which was first delivered as a Sermon, and afterwards committed to writing for the benefit of his private friends, may, without hesitation, be assigned to the earlier part of the year 1556. This appears from a letter written to Mrs Locke, from Geneva, on the 9th of December that year, where he says, "In this mean season you shall receive my judgment upon the first Temptation of Christ, *which I wrote being in Scotland* at the request of some, who before, being in great anguish, did confess themselves somewhat reclaimed . . . . by the doctrine of the same. *For first I taught it, before I did write it.* As I can have occasion, and some quietness, you may perchance receive the rest of the same matter, which is not yet all complete." This intention is also expressed at the end of the Exposition itself, where he says, "Sundrie impediments now do call me from further writing in this matter, but, by God's grace, at convenient leisure, I purpose to finish and to send unto you." But he seems never to have found either opportunity or quietness for completing the work.

It was first published at London by John Field in the year 1583, from a MS. copy belonging to Mrs Anne Prouze of Exeter. Her name neither appears as one of Knox's correspondents, nor as one of his flock at Geneva; and where Field speaks of a letter to her from the Author, in which he proposed to send the continuation of the following Exposition,[1] this, in all probability, was nothing more than a reference to the words in the concluding paragraph.[2] She was the widow of Edward Deering, an eminent Puritan divine.[3] Field, who

[1] See page 92. [2] Infra, page 114. [3] See note 2 page 92.

was educated at Oxford, was also "a famous preacher," and a sufferer for his nonconformity. He was Rector of Aldermary, and of St Giles's, Cripplegate, London; and was suspended from his ministry, in March 1584, for "holding an unlawful conventicle, consisting of an assembly of ministers at his house, among whom were some Scottish divines who were disaffected to the hierarchy."[1] He died in the year 1587–8.[2]

In Dr M'Crie's MS. volume, from which this Exposition is here printed, it is entitled, "His [Knox's] Doctrine upon the first Tentatioun. Mathew cap. 4. 1 verse." Except in the orthography, the two copies correspond very closely.

[1] Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. pp. 273–275, 309. Toulmin's edit. Bath, 1797, 5 vols. 8vo.

[2] Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. i. p. 534. Bliss's edit.

A notable and
Comfortable expoſition of M.
IOHN KNOXES, VPON THE FOVRTH
of Mathew, concerning the tentations of Chriſt:

Firſt had in the publique Church, and then afterwards written for the comfort of certaine priuate friends, but now publiſhed in print for the benefite of all that feare God.

GOD IS MY HELPER. Pſal. 7. 11.

AT LONDON,
Printed by Robert VValde-graue, for Thomas Man, dwelling in Pater-noſter-row, at the ſigne of the Talbot.

In small 8vo, signatures A, B, and C, in eights, black-letter, excepting the title-page and the following "Epistle Dedicatorie," which fixes the date of printing to the year 1583.

'To the Vertuous and my very Godly Friend, Mrs Anne Prouze of Exeter: John Field, prayeth encrease of Grace, and constancie in that blessed trueth of God, which, by his grace, she hath received, to the end. Amen.

I beseeche you thinke not much (good Mystres Prouze) that having kept your papers so long, and not restored them, I do also now at the length adventure without your knowledge to make that common to moe and many, which was private to your selfe and some few others. I doe it not (God knoweth) to seek any commoditie to my selfe, but that I may profite the whole Church of God. And me think it is not meete, that that which was first publiquely done in the Church, by so worthy and notable an instrument of God as M. John Knoxe was; although in respect of particular friendship himself, did only at the firste communicate it with you, and some few of his freends; it also being a thing that would be so fruitfull and comfortable to manye, that it should lie any longer in the dust in secret, and not be published to the comfort of al. For first amongst the rest, it is a seal of his godly and wonderfull labours, carrying in the forehead thereof, of what an heroicall and boldo spirit he was: how painfully and constantly he stoode for the glorious truth and religion of Jesus Christ, and how mightily in the end, after many and tedious troubles, persecutions, and calamities, God gave him yet a victory, so that he prevayled against all those bulles of Basan. And although al this be testified in his sundry works already published, by that story of his

life which M. Smeaton, a godly minister, hath alreadye sette forth in the Latten tong;[1] yet if ever God shal vouchsafe the Church so great a benefite, (when his infinite Letters and sundry other Treatises shall be gathered together,) it shall appeare what an excellent man he was, and what a wonderfull losse that Church of Scotland sustained when that worthy man was taken from them. In mean time I shall desire you, that if you have any thing, besides those that I have received already, you will communicate them with me. He maketh mention in a letter to you, of the last parte of this Treatise; if you have it, I pray you give it againe to the Church from whence you had it. And if by yourselfe or others, you can procure any other his writinges or letters, here at home or abroad, in Scotland, or in England, be a meane that we may receive them. It was great pittie that any, the least, of his writings should be lost. For he evermore wrote both godly and diligently, in questions of divinitie, and also of Church pollicie. And his Letters being had together, would together set out an whole Historie of the Churches where he lyved. I am bold with you (because I know I may be thus bold with modestie) to employ any thing that is yours to the good of the Church. I know you live to your God, and as you have in times past; being no young scholler in his schoole, given sufficient testimonie to the Church of God of your sincere faith and holy profession, when you have lived in exile to enjoy it: so I perswade myselfe, that in this peace you will not forsake it, nor thinke any thing that you have too precious to bestow upon it. I keepe also by me, many of the writings, labors, and letters of that worthy and godly man's, your late and deare husband, M. EDWARD DERING[2]

[1] The account of Knox's last illness and death, by Thomas Smeton, Principal of the University of Glasgow, was published along with his "Responsio ad Arch. Hamiltonii Dialogum," &c. Edin. 1579, 4to.

[2] Dering, or Deering, was descended from an ancient family in Kent, and was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, of which he was chosen Fellow in 1568, having in the previous year been admitted Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity. He was chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk, and,

(whom I name even for honor's sake), and gather them in dayly, as I can get them, of his and my good friendes: One day the Lord may give opportunitie, that as he liveth still by those notable readings of his in Poules Church, so he may live in his other writings, and all may thorowly see what a man also he was, and what a losse we received when God tooke him from amongst us. In meane time, I beseech you, do as you do; continue the Lordes duetifull and faithfull remembrancer. Remember the hope of your calling, and beeing now nearer your salvation than at the first, strive on forwarde with good courage. Beware of the worlde, and let those be an example to you to stand fast, whome you have seene, and see dayly, to fall from the love of the truth. A day shall come, when you shall reape in joye, that which you sow now in mourning and sorrow; and He that hath strengthned you heretofore to endure stronge tentations, afflictions, and troubles, and to overcome them, will strengthen you still, if you still leane upon him. Assure yourselfe that He cannot deceive you. He that loved us for himselfe, and for his owne name's sake, before we were, and before the foundation of the worlde was layed, Hee will love us still, because his love is unchaungeable, built upon his own good will, and not upon our workes, either good or evill. Be therefore of good comfort in your profession, let not the wicked grieve you, but looke up to Him that guideth all things for his own glory, and hath made the wicked for a day of vengeance, that he may be magnified in his judgements.

The Lord Jesus evermore assist us, and seale the reconciliation, which he hath wrought for us in our hearts, with the seale

as is here noticed by Field, was one of the Readers at St Paul's; he was also Rector of Pluckley, 1569, and a Prebendary of Salisbury, 1571. "He was much celebrated for his eloquence in the pulpit, and for his general learning and acuteness as a disputant; but he became a violent opposer of church government as then established."—(Darling's Cyclopædia Bibliographica.) Some expressions used by Deering in regard to the hierarchy, and the new statutes proposed for Cambridge, led to his suspension by Archbishop Parker; but he was restored by an order of the Privy Council. (Strype's Life of Parker, pp. 380, 426-429). He died in the year 1576.

of his owne Spirit, that we may feele it, and bee comforted with that comfort that none can take from us. Amen.

Fare you well. London, this first day of the first moneth, in the yeare 1583.

Yours, as you know, assured in Christ,

JOHN FIELDE.

An Exposition upon Mathew iv., concerning the Temptations of Christ in the Wilderness.

Verse 1.—*Then Jesus was led by the Spreit into the Desert that he suld be temptit of the Divill, &c.*

The caus moving me to intreat this place of Scripture is, that sic as be the inscrutabill providence of God do fall in dyvers tentationis, judge not thame selves be reasone thairof less acceptabill in Godis presence; but contrariwyse, having the way preparit to victorie be Chryst Jesus, sall not feir above measure the craftie assaltis of that subtill serpent, Sathan; but with joy and bold corage, having sic a gyd as heir is payntit furth, suche a champioun, and sic weaponis as heir ar to be found, (yf with obedience we will heir, and with unfeaned faith beleive,) may assure oure selves of God's present favour, and of finall victorie, by the meanes of Him, who, for oure saifgaird and delyverance, hath entirit in the battell, and triumphed over his adversarie, and all his rageing furie.

And that the subsequentis heard and understand, may the better be keipit in memorie, be God's grace, we purpois to observe, in treating this matter:

1. First, What this word Tentatioun meaneth, and how it is usit within the Scriptures.

2. Secundlie, Wha is heir temptit, and at what tyme this tentatioun happinit.

3. Thirdlie, How and be what meanis he was temptit.

4. And last, Why he suld suffer theis tentationis, and what frute enseweth to us of the same.

Tentatioun, or to tempt, in the Scriptures of God, is callit to try, to prove, or to assalt, the valew, the power, the will, the pleasure, or the wisdome, whether it be of God or of creatures. And it is takin sum tymes in gud part, as when it is said, that "God temptit Abraham," "God temptit the pepill of Israell," that is, God did try and examyne, not for his awn knawledge, to whome nothing is hid, but for the certificatioun of uthiris, how obedient Abraham was to Godis commandement, and how weak and infirme the Israelitis was in thair journey towardis the promissit land. And this tentatioun is alwayis gud, becaus it proceideth immediatlie frome God, to opin and mak manifest the secreit motionis of menis hartis, the puissance and power of Godis Word, and the great lenitie and gentillnes of God towardis the infirmiteis (the horrible sinnis and rebellionis) of thois whome he hath ressavit into his regiment and cair. For wha wald haif beleivit that the bair Word of God culd so have moveit the hart and affectionis of Abraham, that to obey Godis commandement, he determinat to kill with his awn hand his best belovit sone Isack? Who culd have trustit, that under so many tormentis as Job did suffer, he suld not speik in all his great tentationis one fulische word aganis God? Or who culd have thocht, that God so mercifullie suld have pardonit sa mony, and so manifest transgressionis committit be his pepill in the desert, and yit that his mercie did never utterlie leif thame, but still continewit with thame, till at lenth he did performe his promeis maid to Abraham? To whome, I say, culd theis thingis haif bene persuadit, unless be tryell and temptatioun takin of his creaturis be God, thai had cum be revealatioun maid in his Halie Scriptures to oure knawledge? And sa this kynd of tentatioun is profitable, gud, and necessarie, as a thing proceiding frome God, wha is fontane of all gudnes to the manifestatioun of his awn glorie, and to the profit of the sufferer, how that ever the flesche judge in the house of tentatioun. Otherwys tentatioun,[1] or to tempt, is takin in evill part;

[1] In the margin of the old edit. "Tentation in evill part."

that is, he that dois assalt or assailzeis, intendeth distructioun and confusioun to him that is assaltit: as when Sathan temptit the woman in the gardine, Job be dyvers tribulationis, and David be adulterie. The Scrybis and Phariseis temptit Chryst be dyvers meanis, questionis, and subtelteis. And of this maner, sayeth St James, "God tempteth no man," that is, be temptatioun proceiding immediatelie frome him, he intendeth no manis distructioun. And heir ye sall note, that albeit Sathan appeir sumtymes to prevaill aganis Godis elect, yit is he ever frustrat of his finall purpois. By temptatioun[1] he led the woman and David frome the obedience of God, but he could not reteane thame for ever under his thraldome. Power was grantit to him to spoyle Job of his substance and childrene, and to stryke his bodie with a plague of seiknes maist vyle and feirfull; but he could not compell his mouth to blaspheme Godis Majestie. And thairfoir, albeit we be laid open sumtymes, as it wer, evin to the mouth of Sathan, lat us not think thairfoir that God hath abjectit[2] us, and that he takith no cair over us. No, he permitteth Sathan to rage, and as it wer to triumph for a time, that when he hath poured furth the venoume of his malice against Godis elect, it may returne to his awn confusioun; and that the delyverance of Godis children may be mair to his glorie and comfort of the afflictit: knawing that his hand is so puissant, his mercie and gudwill so prompte, that he delyvereth his litill anis[3] frome thair cruell enemy, evin as David did his scheip and lambis frome the mouth of the lyoun. For a benefit ressavit in extreame danger, doith more move us then the preservatioun frome ten thousand perrellis, so that we fall not in thame. And yit to preserve from dangeris and perrellis that we fall not in thame, whether thai be of bodie or spreit, is no less the work of God then to delyver frome thame. But the weaknes of oure faith doith not espy that; but this I omit to better tyme.

[1] It will be seen that Knox uses the word "temptation," in the sense to try, or trial.

[2] "Abjectit," cast away.

[3] In the edit. 1583, "little ones."

Last,[1] To tempt, betokinneth simplie to prove, or try, without any determinat purpois of profit or damage to ensue; as when the mynd douteth of any thing, and thairin desyreth to be satisfeit, without great love or extreame haittred of the thing that is temptit or tryit. As the Quene of Saba came to tempt Solomon in subteill questionis; David temptit, that is, tryit him self yf he culd go in harnes; and Gedioun sayith, "Let not thy angir kendill aganist me, yf I tempt ye yit onis againe." This famous Quene, not fullie trusting the brute and fame that wes spred of Solomone, be subtill questionis desyrit to prufe his wisdome; at the first, nether extremelie haitting, nor ferventlie loving the persone of the king. And David, as a man not accustomit to harnes, wald try how he was abill to go, and behave and fassion him self thairin, befoir, so enarmit, he wald hazard battell with Goliath. And Gedioun, not satisfeit in his conscience of the first signe that he ressavit, desyrit, without contempt or hatred of God, the secound tyme to be certifeit of his vocatioun. And in this sense must the Apostill be expoundit, when he commandeth us to tempt, that is, to try and examyne oure selves, yf we stand in faith: and this muche for the Terme.

Now to the Persone temptit, and to the tyme and place of his temptatioun. The Persone temptit is the onlie weil-belovit Sonne of God; the tyme was immediatelie efter his baptisme; and the place was the desert or wildernes. But that we may mak[2] oure frute of the premissis, we must considder the same more profoundlie. That the Sone of God was thus temptit giveth to us instructioun, that temptationis, althocht thai be never so grevous and feirfull, do not separat us frome Godis favour and mercies, but rather declair the great graces of God to apertene to us, whilk maketh Sathan to rage as a roring lyoun; for aganis none doith he so ferslie fyght, as aganis thois in whois hartis Chryst hath takin possessioun.

[1] In the margin of the edit. 1583, "The thirde kinde of Tentation."

[2] In the edit. 1583, "But of intent we may make."

The tyme of Chrystis temptatioun is heir maist deligentlie to be notit. Then that is (as Marke and Lucas do witness) immediatelie efter the voce of God the Fathir had commendit[1] his Sonne to the warld, and had visibillie appoyntit him be the signe of the Halie Gaist: He was led or movit to go be the Spreit to a wildernes, whair fourtie dayis he remanit fasting amang the wyld beastis. This Spreit whilk led Chryst into the desert was not the Divill, but the Halie Spreit of God the Father, be whome Chryst, as tuiching his humane and manlie nature, was conductit and led; lykewys as be the same Spreit he was strenthened and maid strong, and finallie raisit up frome the deid. The Spreit of God, I say, led Chryst to the place of his battell, whair lang tyme he endurit the combat for the whole fourtie dayis and nychtis. As Lucas sayeth, "he was temptit," but in the end maist vehementlie, efter his continewall fasting, and "that he began to be hungrie." Upon theis fourtie dayis and this fasting of Chryst doeth our Papistis found and build thair Lent; for, say thai, all the actionis of Chrystar oure instructionis; what he did we aught to follow; but he fastit fourtie dayis, thairfoir we aught to do the lyke. I answer, If that we aught to follow all Christis actionis, than oucht we nether to eat or drink the space of fourtie dayis, for sa fastit Chryst. We aucht to go upon the watteris with oure feit; to cast out divillis by oure word; to heall and cure all sortis of maladeis; to call agane the deid to lyfe; for so did Christ. This I wryt onlie that men may sie the vanitie of theis men, who, boisting thame selves of wisdome, ar becum mad fuillis.

Did Chryst fast theis fortie dayis to teache us a superstitious fasting? Can the Papistis assure me or any uthir man, whiche wer the fourtie dayis that Chryst fastit? Plane it is he fastit the fourtie dayis and nichtis that immediatlie did follow his baptisme; but whiche thai wer, or in what moneth was the day of his baptisme, the Scripture do not expres. And albeit the day wer expressit, am I or any Christiane bound to conterfit[2] Christis

[1] In the edit. 1583, "commaunded." [2] Ib. "counterfaite."

actions as the ape conterfitteth[1] the act or work of man! He him self requyreth no sic obedience of his trew followers, but sayeth to his Apostillis, "Go and preache the Evangell to all nationis, baptising thame in the name of the Father, the Sone, and the Halie Gaist; commanding thame to observe and keip all that I have commandit you." Heir Chryst Jesus requyreth the observatioun of his preceptis and commandementis; and not of his actionis, except in so far as he hath also commandit thame. And so must the Apostill be understand when he sayith, "Be followeris of Chryst, for Chryst hath sufferrit for us, that we suld follow his futestepis," whilk can not be understand of everie actioun of Chryst; nether in the misterie of oure redemptioun, nether in his actionis and mervalous workis, but onlie of thois whilk he hath commandit us to observe.

But when the Papistis are so diligent in establissing thair dreamis and fantasseis, thay lose the profit whilk heir is to be gatherit; that is, Why Chryst did fast thois fortie dayis! whilk wer a doctrine mair necessarie for Christianis, then to corrupt the simpill hartis with superstitioun, as thocht the Wisdome of God, Chryst Jesus, had taucht us no other misterie be his fasting than the abstinence frome flesche, or anis on the day to eat flesche the space of fourtie dayis. God hath takin a just vengeance upon the pryd of sic men, whill he thus confoundeth the wisdome of thois that do maist glorie in wisdome, and doith stryk with blindnes suche as wilbe gydis and lanternis to the feit of utheris, and yit refuse thame selves to heir or follow the lycht of Godis Word. From such delyver thy poore flock, O Lord!

The caussis of Chrystis fasting theis fourtie dayis I find cheiflie to be tuo. The former, to witnesse to the warld the dignitie and excellencie of that vocatioun, whilk Chryst efter his baptisme was to tak upon him openlie. Secundlie, to declair that he enterit in battell willinglie for oure caus, and doith, as it wer, provoke his adversarie to assalt him. Albeit Chryst

[1] In the edit. 1583, "counterfaiteth."

Jesus, in the eternal consall of his Father, was apoyntit to be the Prince of Peace, the Angell (that is, the messinger) of his Testament, and he allone that suld fight oure battellis for us, yit did he not enter in executioun of it in the eyis of men, till that he was commendit to mankynd by the voce of his heavinlie Father; and as he was placeit and annoyntit be the Halie Gaist be a visibill signe gevin to the eyis of men. After whilk tyme he wes led to the desert, and fastit as befoir is said; and this he did to teache us with what feir, cairfulness, and reverence aught the messingeris of the Word enter in the vocatioun, whilk is not onlie maist excellent, (for wha is worthie to be Godis ambassadour!) but also subject to maist extreame trubillis and dangeris. For he that is apoyntit pastour, watchman, or preacher, yf he feid not with his haill power, yf he warne and admonische not when he seis the sword cum, and yf in doctrine he devyd not the Word ryghteouslie, the blude and saullis of thois that perische for lack of fude, admonitioun, and doctrine, salbe requyrit of his hand. Yf oure hornit and myterit Bischopis dīd understand and firmlie beleive this, I think thai suld be othirwayis occupyit than thai have bene this lang tyme bypast.

But to oure purpois: That Christ exceidit not the space of fourtie dayis in his fasting, he doith it to the imitatioun of Moses and Helias; of whome, the ane befoir the ressaving of the law, and the other befoir the communication and reasonyng whilk he had with God in Mount Horeb, (in whilk he was commandit to anoynt Hasaell king over Syria, and Jehu king over Israell, and Heliseus to be prophet,) fastit the same noumber of dayis. The thing that insewit and did follow the supernaturall fasting of theis tuo servandis of God, Moses and Elias, did impair and diminische the tiranny and kingdome of Sathan. For by the Law came the knawledge of sin, the damnatioun of sic impieteis, speciallie of idolatrie and sic as the Divill had inventit; and finallie, be the Law came sic a revelatioun of Godis will, that na man culd justlie efterward

excus his sin be ignorance, be whilk the Divill befoir had blindit many. Sa that the Law, albeit it mycht not renew and purge the hart, (for that worketh the Spreit of Chryst Jesus by faith onlie,) yit it was a brydill that did let and stay the rage of externall wickitnes in many, and was a scholmaister also that led unto Chryst. For when man can find no power in him self to do that whilk is commandit, and perfytlie doith understand and believe that the curse of God is pronuncit aganis all thois that abyd not in everie thing that is commandit in Godis law to do thame: The man, I say, that understandeth and knaweth his awn corrupt nature and Godis seveir judgement, maist gladlie will ressave the frie redemptioun offired be Chryst Jesus, which is the onlie victorie that overthraweth Sathan and his power. And sa by the giving of the Law did God greatlie mak weaken, impair, and mak febill the tirannie and kingdome of the Divill. In the dayis of Helias, had the Divill so prevalit, that kingis and reularis maid opin war aganis God, killing his prophetis, distroying his ordinances, and erecting up idolatrie, which did so prevaile, that the Prophet complanit, that of all the trew feareris and worschipperis of God he was left allone; and wickit Jesabell socht his lyfe also. Efter this his fasting and complaynt, he wes sent by God to annoynt theis personis afoirnamit, who tuke sic vengeance upon the wickit and obstinat idolateris, (God grant oure eyis may sie the lyke, to his glorie, and comfort of his afflictit flock,) that he that eschapit the sword of Hasaell fell into the handis of Jehu, and thois whome Jehu left, eschapit not Godis vengeance under Heliseus.

The rememberance of this was feirfull to Sathan, for, at the cuming of Chryst Jesus was impietie in hiest degrie amangis thois that pretendit maist knowledge of Godis will; and Sathan was at sic rest in his kingdome, that the Preistis, Scrybis, and Phariseis had takin away the key of knawledge; that is, thai had so obscurit and darkinit Godis Halie Scriptures by fals glossis and vane traditionis, that nether wold thai entir thame selves into the kingdome of God, nether suffer and permit uthirs

to entir; but with violence restraynit, and with tirranny straik back[1] frome the rycht way (that is frome Chryst Jesus him self) suche as wold have entirit into possessioun of the lyfe everlasting be him. Sathan, I say, having sic dominioun over the cheif ruleris of the visibill kirk,[2] and espying in Chryst sic graces as befoir he had not sene in man; and consideritt him to follow in fasting the futstepis of Moses and Helias, no dout did greatlie feir the quyetnes and rest of his maist obedient servandis, the Preistis and thair adherantis, to be trubled be Chryst. And thairfoir, be all ingyne and craft doith he assalt him, to sie what advantage he culd have of him; and Chryst did not repell him (as be the power of his Godheid he mycht) that he suld not tempt him, but permittit him to spend all his arteilyerie, and did ressave the straikis and assaltis of his temptationis in his awn bodie, to the end he mycht make weak and febill[3] the strenth and tirannous power of oure adversarie by lang suffering. For thus, me think, our Maister and champioun, Chryst Jesus, doth provoke oure enemy to battell:—"Sathan, thou gloriest of thy power and victorie over mankynd, that thair is nane abill to withstand thy assaltis nor eschape thy dart, but at a tyme[4] or uthir thou givest him a wound! Lo, I am a man lyke to my brethren, having flesche and blude and all properties of manis nature, (sin, whilk is thy vennoume, exceptit;) tempt, try, and assalt me: I offer thee heir a place most convenient (the wildernes); thair salbe na mortall creature to comfort me against thy assaltis; thou sall have tyme sufficient, do what thow canst, I sall not flie the place of battell: Yf thow becum victour, thow may still continew in possessioun of thy kingdome in this wreachit warld: But yf thow can not prevaill aganis me, then must thy pray and unjust spoyle be takin from thee: Thow maun[5] grant thy self vanquischit and confoundit, and must be compellit to leif off frome all accusatioun of the memberis of my bodie; for to thame doith

[1] In the edit. 1583, "bet back."
[2] Ib. "the visible church."
[3] Ib. "weaken and make feeble."
[4] Ib. "at one time."
[5] Ib. "Thow must."

apperteane the frute of my battell; my victorie is thairs, as I am apoyntit to tak the punishment of thair synnis in my bodie."

O dear Sisteris, what comfort aucht the rememberance of theis thingis be to oure hairtis! Chryst Jesus hath fouchtin oure battell, he him self hath takin us in his cair and protectioun: how that ever the Divill rage be temptatiouns, be thai spirituall or corporall, he is not abill to bereif us out of the hand of the potent Sone of God. To him be all glorie, for his mercies maist aboundantlie pourit furth upon us!

Thair resteth yit to be spokin of, the Tyme when oure Heid was temptit, whilk began immediatelie efter his Baptysme. Whairupon we have to note and merk, that albeit the malice of Sathane doith never ceis, but alwayis seiketh the meanis to trubill the godlie, yit sumtymes he rageth more ferslie than otheris; and that is commounlie when God begynneth to manifest his love and favour to any of his children, and at the end of thair batteil, when thai ar neirest to obteane finall victorie. The Divill no dout, did at all tymes envy the humill spreit whilk was in Abell, but he did not steir up the cruell hart of Cayen against him till God did declair his favour towardis him, be acceptatioun of his sacrifice. The same we find in Jacob, Joseph, David, and maist evidentlie in Chryst Jesus. How rageit Sathan at the tydingis of Chrystis nativitie! what blude causit he to be sched of purpois to have murtherit Chryst in his infancie! The evangelist St Mathew doith witnes, that in all the coistis and borderis of Bethleem wer the children of two yeiris old, and of less age, murtherit without mercie: A feirfull spectacle and horribill exampill of insolent and unaccustomit tyrannie! And what is the caus moveing Sathan thus to rage aganis innocentis, considdering that be reasone of thair imperfectionis thai culd not hurt his kingdome at that instant! O! the craftie eye of Sathan lukit farther than to the present tyme; he hard brutit be the thrie wyse men, that thai had learnit, by the apparitioun of a starre, that the King of the Jewis was borne; and he was not ignorant that the tyme propheceit of Chrystis cum-

ing was than instant; for a stranger was cled with the crown and sceptour in the kingdome of Juda. The Angell had declarit the glad tydingis to the pastouris, that a Savioure, whilk was Chryst the Lord, wes borne in the citie of David. All theis tydingis enflamit the wraith and malice of Sathan, for he perfytlie understude that the cuming of the promissit Seid was apoyntit to his confusioun, and to the breaking doun of his heid and tirrany. And thairfoir he rageit maist cruellie evin at the first heiring of Chrystis birth, thinking that albeit he culd not lett nor withstand his cuming, yit suld he schortin his dayis uppon earth, lest by lang lyfe and peaceabill quyetnes in it, the number of gudmen, by Chrystis doctrin and vertuous lyfe, suld be multiplyit; and sa he pretendit,[1] befoir that ever hie can opin his mouth in his Fatheris message, to cut him away amangis the uthir childrene. O, cruell Serpent, in vane doest thow spend thy venoume. For the dayis of Godis elect thou canst no schortin. And when the wheit corne is fallin in the ground, than doith it maist multiplie.

But of theis presidentis, mark, deir Sisteris, what hath bene the practeis of the Devill frome the begynning, most cruellie to rage aganis Godis children, when God begyneth to schew thame his mercie. And thairfoir mervale not, deirlie Belovit, albeit the lyke cum unto yow. Yf Sathan fume and rore aganis yow, whether it be aganis youre bodies by persecutioun, or inward in youre conscience be a spirituall battell, be not discorageit, as thocht ye wer less acceptabill in Godis presence, or as that Sathan mycht at any tyme prevaill aganis yow. No! youre temptationis and stormes that do aryse so suddanlie, argueth and doith witnes that the seid that is sawin, is fallin in gud ground, begynneth to tak rute, and sall, be Godis grace, bring furth frute abundantlie in dew seassone and convenient tyme: And that is it which Sathan doith feir; and thairfoir thus he rageth (and sall rage) aganis yow, thinking that yf he can repuls yow now suddanlie in the begynning, that then ye sall be at all

[1] In the edit. 1583, "pretendeth."

tymes ane easie pray, never abill to resist his assaltis. But as my hope is gude, so sall my prayer be, that so ye may be strenthinit, that the world and Sathan him self may understand and perceave, that God fighteth your battell. For ye remember, Sisteris, that being present with yow, and entreating the same place, I admonissit yow that Sathan culd not lang sleip when his kingdome was oppugnit; and thairfoir I willit yow, yf that ye wer in mynd to continew with Chryst, to prepair youre selfis for the day of tentatioun. The persone of the speiker is wreachit, miserabill, and nathing to be regairdit; but the thingis that wer spokin ar the infallibill and eternall treuth of God; without observatioun of the whilk, never can, nor sall cum lyfe to mankynd: God grant yow continewance to the end.

This muche have I breiflie spokin of the temptation of Chryst Jesus, wha was temptit; of the tyme and place of his temptatioun; now resteth to be spokin, How he was temptit, and be what meanis. The most part of expositouris do think that all this temptatioun was in spreit and imaginatioun onlie, the corporall senssis being nothing movit. I will contend with no man in sic cassis, but pacientlie will I suffer everie man to abound in his awn knawledge; and without prejudice of any mannis estimatioun, I offer my judgement to be weyit and consideerit be Christiane cheritie. It appeireth to me be the plane text, that Chryst suffirit this temptatioun in bodie and spreit; that lykewys, as the hunger whilk Chryst did suffer, and the desert in whilk he remanit, wer not thingis objectit[1] to the imaginatioun, but that the bodie did verelie remane in wildernes amang beastis, and efter fourtie dayis did hunger and faynt for lack of fude; so the externall eare sall heir the tempting wordis of Sathan, whilk did entir into the knawledge of the saule, which repelling the venoume of sic temptationis, causit the toung to speak and confute Sathan, to oure unspeakeabill comfort and consolatioun. It apeireth also, that the bodie of Chryst Jesus was caried be Sathan frome the wildernes unto the tempill of

[1] "Objectit," offered, presented.

Jerusalem, and that it was placeit upon the pinnacle of the same tempill, frome whence it was careit to a high montane, and thair temptit. If any man can schaw the contrarie heirof be the plane Scriptures of God, with all submissioun and thanksgeving, I will prefer his judgement to my awn; but yf the matter stand onlie in probabilitie and opinioun of men, then is it lawfull for me to beleive as the Scripture heir speiketh, that is, that Sathan spak and Chryst answerit; and Sathan tuk him and caried him frome ane place to another. Besydis the evidence of the text affirmyng theis presidentis, that Sathan was permittit to carie the bodie of Chryst frome place to place, and yit was not permittit to execut any farther tirranye aganis it, is maist singular comfort to suche as be afflictit or trubillit in bodie or spreit. The weak and feabill consciences of man under suche temptationis, doith commonlie gather and collect a fals consequent. For thus doith man reasone: The bodie or the spreit is vexit be assaltis and temptationis of Sathan, and hie doith carie or molest it; thairfoir God is angrie with it, and taketh no cair over it. I answer, Tribulationis and grevous vexationis of bodie or of mynd ar not ever signis of Godis displeasure aganis the sufferer, nether yit doith it follow that God hath cast away the cair of his creatures, becaus he permittis thame to be molestit and vexit for a tyme. For yf any sort of tribulatioun wer the infallibill signe of Godis displeasure, then suld we condempn the best belovit children of God. But of this matter we may perhappis speik[1] efter this more amplie. Now to the tentatioun:

Verse the 2d, *And when he had fastit fourtie dayis and fourtie nichtis, he was efterward hungrie.*[2]

Verse the 3d, *Then came to him the Tempter, and said, Yf thow*[3] *be the Sone of God, command that theis stonis be maid breid*, &c.

[1] In the edit.1583, "we may chance to speake."

[2] Ib. "He efterwards hungred."

[3] Ib. "And Sathan sayd, If thou."

Why Chryst fastit fourtie dayis and wold not exceid the same, (without sense and feilling of hunger,) is partlie befoir tuichit; that is, he wold provoke the divill to battell be the wildernes and lang abstinence; but he wold not usurpe or arrogate no more to him self in that case then God had wrocht with uthiris his servandis and messingeris befoir. Not but that Chryst Jesus, (as St Augustine doith moir amplie declair,) without feilling of hunger, mycht have indurit the hale yeir (yea, time without end), as weill as he did indure the space of fourtie dayis: For the nature of the mankynd was susteanit thois fourtie dayis by the invisibill power of God, whilk is at all tymes of equall power. But Chryst, willing to offir farther occasioun to Sathan to proceid in tempting of him, permittit the humane nature to crave ernistlie that whilk it lackit, that is to say, refreshing of meat, whilk persavit, Sathan taketh occasioun (as afoir) to tempt and assalt. Sum judged that Sathan tempted Chryst in gluttonye; but that apeireth litill to agrie with the purpois of the Halie Gaist; who scheweth us this historie to let us understand, that Sathan never ceasseth to oppugne the children of God, but continewallie, be a meane[1] or other, dryveth and provoketh thame to sum wickit opinionis of thair God; and to have desyreit stonis to have bene convertit in bread, or to haif desyrit the hunger to haif bene satisfeit, hath nether bene sin, nether yit wickit opinion of God. And thairfoir I dout not but the temptatioun was mair spirituall, mair subtil, and mair dangerous. Sathan hath respect to the voce of God, whilk hath pronuncit Chryst to be his weilbelovit Sone, &c. Against this voce he fightis, as his nature is ever to do, aganis the assurit and immutabill Word of God: for sic is his malice against God and aganis his chosin children. That whair and to whome God pronuncis love and mercie, to theis threatnys he displeasure and dampnatioun; and whair God threatnis death, thair is he bold to pronunce lyfe; and for this caus is Sathan callit a lier frome the begynning. And sa the purpois of Sathan is to

[1] In the edit. 1583, "by one meane"

dryve Chryst into disperatioun, that he sall not beleive the former voce[1] of God his Father; and sa this apeireth to be the meanyng of this temptatioun: "Thou hes hard (wold Sathan say) a voce proclamit in the air, that thow wes the belovit Sone of God, in whome his saule was weill complcassit; but may thow not be judgeit mair nor mad, and fonder than the brancles fule, yf thow do believe any sic promeis! Whair ar the signis of his love? Art thow not abject[2] frome comfort of all creature? Thow art in wors case than the brute beastis, for everie day thai hunt for thair pray, and the erth produceth gers[3] and herbis for thair sustentatioun, sa that nane of thame ar pynit and consumit away be hunger; but thou hes fastit fourtie dayis and nychtis, ever awaytting upon sum relief and comfort frome above, but thy best provisioun is hard stonis; yf thow doest glorie in thy God, and doest verilie beleif the promeis that is maid, command that theis stonis be bread. But evident it is, that so thou canst not do; for yf thou couldest, or yf thy God wold have schewit thee any suche pleasure, thou mychtest lang ago haif removit thy hunger, and neidis not to have endurit this languisching for lack of fude. But seing thou hes long continewit and na provisioun is maid for thee, vanitie it is langer to beleive any suche promeis; and thairfoir dispair of any help frome Godis hand, and provyde for thy self be sum other meanis."

Many wordis have I usit heir, (deirlie Belovit[4]), but I can not express the thousand part of the malicious dispyt whilk lurkit in this one temptatioun of Sathan. It is a mocking of Chryst and of his obedience. It is a plane denyall of Godis promeis. It is the triumphing voce of him that apeireth to have gottin victorie. O how bitter this tentatioun is, no creature can understand but sic as feilleth the dolour of sic dartis as Sathan casteth at the tender conscience of thois that gladlie wold rest and repois in God, and in the promissis of his mercie.

[1] "Voce," voice.
[2] "Abject," abjected, cast down.
[3] In the edit. 1583, "grasse."
[4] Ib. "Deare Sisters."

But heir is to be nottit the ground and foundatioun of this temptatioun. The conclusioun of Sathan is this: Thou art none of Godis elect, muche less his weilbelovit Sone. His reasone is this, Thow art in trubill and findis no releif. Then the foundatioun of the tentatioun was Chrystis povertie, and the lack of fude without hoip of remedie to be sent frome God. And it is the same tentation whilk the Divill objectit to him be the princes of the preistis in his grevous tormentis upon the cross. For this thai cry, "Yf he be the Sone of God, lat him come doun fra the cross and we sall beleif in him: He trustit in God, lat him delyver him, yf he haif pleasure in him." As yf thai wald say, God is the delyverer of his servandis frome trubillis; God never permittis thois that feir him to cum to confussioun: This man we sie in extreame trubill; yf he be the Sone of God, or yit a trew worschipper of his name, he will delyver him frome this calamitie; yf he delyver him not, but suffer him to perische in theis anguischis, than is it ane assurit signe that God hath rejectit him as ane hypocrit, that sall have na portioun of his glorie. Thus, I say, taketh Sathan occasioun to tempt, and moveth also uthiris to judge and condemp Godis elect and chosin children, be reasone that trubillis ar multiplyit upon thame.

But with what weaponis we aucht to fight aganis sic enemyis and assaltis, we sall learne in the answer of Chryst Jesus whilk followeth:

Verse the 4th, *But he, answering said, It is writtin, Man liveth not be bread onlie, but be everie word whilk proceideth out of the mouth of God.*

This answer of Chryst proveth the sentence whilk we have brocht of the afoir namit tentatioun, to be the verie meanyng of the Halie Gaist; for unles the purpois of Sathan had bene to haif removit Chryst frome all hoip of Godis mercifull providence towardis him in that his necessitie, Chryst had answerit nothing directlie to his wordis, saying, "Command that theis stonis be

maid bread." But Chryst Jesus persaving his art and malicious subtilitie, answereth directlie to his meanyng, his wordis nathing regairdit. In whilk answer Sathan was sa confoundit, that he was aschamit to reply any farther in that behalf

But that ye may the better understand the meanyng of Chrystis answer, we will phrase and repeat it over in mo wordis. "Thow labourest Sathan (will Chryst say) to bring in my hart a dout and suspicioun of my Fatheris promeis, whilk was opinlie proclamit in my baptisme, be reasone of my hunger, and that I lack all carnall provisioun. Thow art bold to affirme that God taketh no cair over me: but thou art a disceatfull and fals corrupt sophister, and thy argument is vane and full of blasphemies; for thou bindest Godis love, mercie, and providence to the having or wanting of corporall provisioun, whilk no part of Godis Scriptures do teache ws, but rather thai expres contrarie. As it is writtin, 'Man liveth not be bread onlie, but be everie word that proceideth frome the mouth of God;' that is, the verie lyfe and felicitie of man consisteth not in aboundance of corporall thingis, for the possessioun and having of thame maketh na man blissit nor happie; nether sall the lack of thame be the caus of his finall miserie; but the verie lyfe of man consisteth in God, and in his promissis pronunced be his awne mouth, unto the whilk whoso cleaveth and sticketh unfeanidlie, sall leif the lyfe everlasting. And althocht all creatures in erth forsaik him, yit sall not his corporall lyfe perische till the tyme apoyntit be God aproche: For God hath meanis to feid, preserve, and manteane, unknawin to manis reassone, and contrarie to the commoun cours of nature: He fed his pepill Israell in the desert fourtie yeiris, without the provisioun of man. He preservit Jonas in the whaillis bellie; and manteanit and keipit the bodeis of the thrie children in the furnace of fyre. Reasone and the naturall man culd haif seen nothing in theis cassis but distructioun and deth, and culd have judgeit nathing, but that God had cast away the cair of theis his creatures, and yit was his providence maist vigilant towardis thame in the extreami-

tie of thair dangeris, frome whilk he did so delyver thame, and in the middis of thame did so assist thame, that his glorie, whilk is his mercie and gudnes, did mair appeir and schyne after thair trubillis then it culd haif done yf thai had not fallin in thame. And thairfoir I measure not the treuth and favour of God, by having or by lacking of corporall necessiteis, but by the promeis that he hath maid to me: as He him self is immutabill, so is his word and promeis constant, whilk I beleif, and to whilk I stick and do cleave, what ever can cum externallie to the bodie."

In this answer of Chryst we may espy,[1] what weaponis ar to be usit aganis oure adversarie the Devill, and how that we may confut his argumentis, whilk craftelie, and of malice, he makith aganis Godis elect. Chryst mycht have repulsit Sathan with a word or thocht, commanding him to silence, as he to whome all power wes given in heavin and erth, but it pleasit his mercie to teache us how to use the sword of the Halie Gaist, whilk is the Word of God, in battaill against oure spirituall enemy. The Scripture that Chryst bringeth, is writtin in the eight chapter of Deuteronomy. It was spokin be Moses a litill befoir his deth, to establishe the pepill in Godis mercifull providence. For in the same chapter, and in certane otheris that go befoir, he rekoneneth the great travell and dyvers dangeris, with the extreame necessiteis that thai had sustenit in the desert; the space of fourtie yeiris, and yit, notwithstanding how constant God had bene in keiping and performyng his promeis; for then throucht all perrellis had he conductit thame to the syght and borderis of the promissit land. And so this Scripture maist directlie answereth to the tentatioun of Sathan; for thus doith Sathan reasone (as befoir is said), "Thow art in povertie, and hath no provisioun to susteane thy lyfe; thairfoir God taketh no regarde nor cair over thee as he doith over his chosin children." Chryst Jesus answereth, "Thy argument is false and vane; for povertie or necessitie secludeth not the providence or cair of

[1] In the edit. 1583, "Deare Sisters, we may espie."

God; whilk is easie to be proved be the pepill of God, Israell, whilk in the desert did often tymes lack thingis necessarie to sustentatioun of the lyfe, and for lack of the same thai grudged and murmurit; yit did never the Lord[1] cast away the providence and cair of thame. But according to the voyce that he had anis pronuncit, to wit, that thai wer his peculiar pepill; and according to the promeis maid to Abrahame, and to thame befoir the departure frome Egypt, he still remanit thair conductour and gyde, till he placed thame in peaceabill possessioun of the land of Canaan, thair greit infirmities and manifald transgressionis notwithstanding."

Thus are we taucht, I say, by Chryst Jesus, to repulse Sathan and his assaltis by the Word of God, and to apply the exempillis of his mercies, whilk he hath schewit to utheris befoir us, to oure awn souls in the hour of tentatioun, and in the tyme of oure trubillis. For what God doith to ane at any tyme, the same aperteaneth to all that hang and depend upon God and his promissis; and thairfoir, how that ever we be assaltit be Sathan, oure adversarie, within the Word of God is armour and weaponis sufficient. The cheif craft of Sathan is to trubill thois that begin to declyne from his obedience, and to declair thameselves enemyis to iniquitie, with dyvers assaltis; the end whairof is alwayis ane, that is, to put variance betuix thame and God into thair conscience, that thai suld not repois and rest thameselves in his assurit promissis. And to persuad this, he useth and inventeth dyvers argumentis. Sumtymes he calleth the sinnis of thair youth, and whilk thai haif committit in the tyme of blindnes, to thair rememberance; verie oft he objecteth thair unthankfulnes towardis God and present imperfectionis. Be seiknes, povertie, tribulationis in thair houshald, or be persecution, he can alledge that God is angrie, and regardis not. Or, be the spirituall cross whilk few feillis, and fewer dois understand the utilitie and profit of it, he wold dryve Godis children to desperatioun, and by infinit meanis mo[2]

[1] In the edit. 1583, "Yet did never God." [2] "Mo," more.

goith he about, seiking lyke a roring lyoun to undermyne and destroy oure faith. But impossibill it is for him to prevaill aganis us, unless that obstinatlie we do refuse to use the defence and weapon that God hath offirit. Yea, I say, that Godis elect can not refuse it, but seikis for thair Defendour, when the battell is maist strong; for the sobbis, gronyngis, and lamentationis of suche as fightis; yea, the feir thai haif to be vanquischit, the calling and praying thai mak for continewance, ar the undoutit and rycht seiking of Chryst oure campioun. We refuse not the weapon, althocht sumtymes, be infirmitie, we can not use it as we wold. It suffiseth, that the hart unfeanidlie sobb for greatter strength, for continewance, and for finall delyverance be Chryst Jesus. That whilk lacketh in us his sufficiencie doith supply, for it is he that fighteth and overcumeth for us. But for bringing of[1] the exampillis of the Scriptures, gif God permit, in the end we sall speik more large, when it salbe intreatit, Why Chryst permittit him self thus to be temptit.

Sundrie impedimentis now do call me frome wrytting in this matter; but[2] be Godis grace, at convenient leasure, I purpois to finische, and to send unto yow. I grant the matter that proceideth frome me, is not worthie your labouris and paynis to reid it; yit seing it is a testimony of my gud mynd towardis yow, I dout not but ye will accept it in gud part. God the Father of our Lord Jesus Chryst grant unto yow to find favouris and mercie in the presence of that Judge, whois eyis and knawledge doith perce throw the secreit cogitationis of all hartis, in the day of tentatioun whilk sall apprehend all flesche, according to that mercie whilk yow (illuminatit and directit be his Halie Spreit) have schawit unto the afflictit. God of all comfort and consolation confirme and strenthen yow in his vertew,[3] unto the end. Amen.

[1] In the edit. 1583, "But for the applying."

[2] Ib. "which."

[3] "Vertew," power.

ANSWERS

TO SOME QUESTIONS CONCERNING

BAPTISM, ETC.

M.D.LVI.

THE following Answers to some Questions in casuistry, chiefly relating to the efficacy of Baptism as it was administered in the Romish Church, are preserved in Dr M'Crie's Manuscript volume. As they occur in that volume among papers and letters written by Knox in the year 1556, we may safely ascribe them to that period. Other instances of the Reformer expressing his judgment on matters transmitted to him for advice, occur among his Epistles; and the readiness which he displayed in resolving such doubts, must have proved no small addition to his unremitting labours.

In reference to such Questions, Dr M'Crie remarks:—"The Questions are such as might be supposed to arise in the minds of pious persons lately made acquainted with Scripture, puzzled with particular expressions, and at a loss how to apply some of its directions to their situation. They discover an inquisitive and conscientious disposition; and, at the same time, illustrate the disadvantages under which ordinary Christians labour when deprived of the assistance of learned teachers. Our Reformer's answers display an intimate acquaintance with Scripture, dexterity in expounding it, with prudence in giving advice in cases of conscience, so as not to encourage a dangerous laxity on the one hand, nor scrupulosity and excessive rigidness on the other."[1]

[1] M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 193.

Ansueris to sum Questionis concerning Baptisme, etc.

The Baptisme now usit in the Papistrie, is not the trew Baptisme whilk Chryst Jesus did institute, and command to be usit in his Kirk; but it is ane adulteratioun and prophanatioun of the same, and thairfoir is to be avoydit of all Godis childrene.

That it is adulterat, and so consequentlie prophane, is evident: First, for many thingis be addit, besydis Chrystis institutioun; and all manis additioun in Godis perfyt ordinance, especiallie in his religioun, ar execrable and detestable befoir him. Secoundlie, the promissis of salvatioun in Chryst Jesus ar not in the Papisticall baptisme lyvelie and trewlie explanit to the pepill; the Word is not preachit; yea, that whilk thai reid is not understand. The end and use of a trew Sacrament is not considderit, but rather ar the pepill led to put thair confidence in the bair ceremony.

That nane of Godis children aucht, or may, with pure conscience, offir thair children to the Papisticall baptisme, ane reasone of the Halie Gaist pronuncit be St Paule, may instruct and assure sic as rather list to be obedient then contentious. "I wald not, (sayith he,) that ye sould have fellowschip with divillis: Ye may not drink of the Lordis cup, and the cup of divillis: ye may not be pertaker of the Lordis tabill, and of the tabill of divillis." Gif the caussis why sacramentis wer institute be rychtlie understand and considderit, this reasone of the Apostill sall dampn all thois that offir thair children to ane adulterat signe: for as sacramentis,

besyd uthir ussis and endis, ar ordeynit to be seallis of the justice of faith, sa ar thai also a declaratioun of oure professioun befoir the warld, and ane approbatioun of that doctrine and religioun, which is taught be sic as with whome we communicat, in ressaving the sacramentis. Now evident it is, that the Papisticall doctrine, in the cheif poynt of oure salvatioun, and thair haill religioun, is as contrarious to Chrystis doctrine and trew religioun, as darknes is unto lycht. Whilk nevertheles is approved and allowit befoir the warld, be all sic as communicattis with any of thair adulterat sacriledge, for sacramentis thai can not be properlie callit. I add, whasoever offireth thair childrene to the papisticall baptisme, offireth thame to the Divill, wha was autour and first inventer of all sic abominationis; and thairfoir, whasoever communicateth with the Papisticall sacramentis, approveth and befoir the warld alloweth whatsoever doctrine and religioun thai profes. Yea, farther, wha offireth thair children to the papisticall baptisme, offireth thame not to God, nor to Chryst Jesus his Son, but to the Divill, cheif autour and inventer of sic abominationis.

"Sall we be baptisit agane, (do sum demand,) that in oure infancie wer pollutit with that adulterat signe?" I ansuer, Na, for the spreit of regeneratioun, whilk is frelie gevin to us be Chryst Jesus oure haill sufficiencie, hath purgeit us frome that poysone whilk we drank in the dayis of oure blindnes. The fyre of the Halie Gaist hath brunt away whatsoever we ressavit at thair handis besydis Chryst Jesus simpill institutioun. We dampn it as detestabill and wickit; and onlie we approve Chrystis ordinance, the vane inventionis of all men refusit. And this, boith befoir God and man, suffiseth, without iteratioun of the signe; for be faith, and not be externall signis doith God purge oure hartis; and oure plane and continewall confessioun mair serveth to me than that we suld be rebaptisit. For that actioun, and the remembrance of it, suld suddanlie evanische whan contrariwyse oure confessioun declaireth, that in our infancie we ressavit the signe whilk Chryst commandit, whilk our

parentis esteamit to have bene the trew signe of Chryst. And in verie deed, the malice of the divill culd never altogidder abolische Chryst's institutioun, for it was ministred unto us, "In the name of the Father, of the Sone, and the Halie Gaist." And yit for that tyme, I confes, be reasone of our blindnes, it did not profit us, becaus it was adulterat, and mixt with mennis dreamis and fantasies. I confes, for the tyme it did not profit us; but now, as said is, the Spreit of Chryst Jesus illuminating our hartis, hath purgeit the same be faith, and maketh the effect of that sacrament to work in us with out any iteratioun of the externall signe.

Heirof I knaw may tua doubtis aryse: Former, that to the regenerat man the Sacramentis ar not necessarie greatlie: Secoundlie, that it is all ane whether oure children be baptisit with the Papisticall baptisme, or with Chrystis trew institutioun. The first I ansuer, That na man is sa regenerat, but that continewallie he hath neid of the meanis whilk Chryst Jesus, the wisdome of his eternall Father, hath apoyntit to be usit in his Kirk, to wit, the word trewlie preachit, and the sacramentis rychtlie administred. The word and the sacramentis hes Chryst Jesus ordeynit and commandit to be usit in his kirk, thairfoir aucht not the bold presumptioun of man to separat the same. Yf the regenerat man hath never ressavit the sacramentall signe of baptisme, he is bound to ressave the same: And that did Peter perfytlie understand, seing the Halie Gaist visiblie descend upon Cornelius and his houshald, whilk he perfytlie understude culd not be without the spreit of regeneratioun; and yit doith he contend and obteane that thai suld not be forbidden to be baptisit. And Paule also, efter his conversioun, and efter that Chryst Jesus had promissit that he was a chosin veschell to him, yit was commandit to wesche away his synis be baptisme. Whairof it is evident that regeneratioun doith not sa exempt man, but that anis he aught to be baptisit.

But the questioun is, Whether a man baptisit in Papistrie

aucht to be rebaptisit when he cometh to knawledge? And I answer, he aucht not; First, becaus Chrystis institutioun, as said is, culd not be utterlie abolissit be the malice of Sathan, nor be the abuse of man. Secundlie, becaus the Spreit of Chryst purgeth and removeth fra us all sic vennoume as we ressavit of thair handis; and superstitioun maketh not the vertew of Chrystis institutioun to be ineffectuall in us. We have sum respect also, that na mair be gevin to the externall signe, than is propir to it, that is, that it be the seall of justice and the signe of regeneratioun, but nether the cause, nether yit the effect and vertew. The seall anis ressavit is durabill, and neideth not to be iterat, least that be iteratioun and multiplicatioum of the signe, the office of the Halie Spreit, whilk is to illuminat, regenerat, and to purge, be attributit unto it.

"But be the same resone, (may sum reply,) aucht not the Lordis table to be commonlie usit?" Yes; but gif the significatioun of both sacramentis be deiplie consideritt, we sall sie, why the ane aucht to be but anis usit, and the other oftentymes; for the halie Discipillis and servantis of Chryst Jesus dar not dispense with the ordinance of thair Lord and Savioure, but rather ar humblie subject to the same. And thairfoir, sic as this day contempn the use of sacramentis, of the Lordis tabill I meane, and also the externall word, declaris thame selves repugnant to the wisdome of God, whilk hath commandit his Discipillis to use that tabill in rememberance of him, that is, of his deth, and of the benefittis purchassit unto us be the same till his coming againe, he putteth na terme of perfectioun, what a man may atteane in this lyfe that he neideth not to use the sacramentis for aid and help to his infirmitie; albeit sum now a dayis brag of sic perfectioun, that thai suppose all sic exercissis to aperteane onlie to thame that ar children and infantis in Chryst, and not to thois that ar growin to perfectioun. But as the punissement of sic pryde and arrogancie is manifest this day to the kirk of God, for

thair perfectioun hath brocht thame to sic obstinacie and blindnes, that openlie thai blaspheme Chryst Jesus, sa sall it be felt be thame, when sic as with full obedience sa knyt thame selves to Chrystis ordinance sall ressave the croun of glorie.

Baptisme is the signe of our first entrance in the houshald of God our Father; be the whilk is signifeit, that we ar ressavit in league with him; that we ar cled with Chrystis justice,[1] oure synis and filthines being weschit away in his blude. Now, evident it is, that the justice of Chryst Jesus is permanent, and can not be defyllit; that the league of God is of that fermitie and assurance, that rather sall the covenant maid with the sonne and moone, with the day and nycht, perische and be changeit, then that the promeis of his mercie maid to his elect salbe frustrat and vane. Now, yf Chrystis justice be inviolabill, and the league of God be constant and sure, it is not necessarie, that the signe, whilk representeth unto me, and in sum maner sealleth in my conscience that I am ressavit in league with God, and sa, cled with Chrystis justice, be ofter than anis ressavit; for the iteratioun of it suld declair, that befoir I was a stranger fra God, wha never had publictlie bene ressavit in his houshald.

"Not sa, (sall sum say;) but becaus we have declynit fra God be manifest iniquitie, and we, sa fer as in us lay, have brokin that league maid betwix God and us, and have spoylit oure selves of all Chrystis justice: Thairfoir desyre we the former league to be repairit and renewit be iteratioun of the signe." I answer, The iteratioun of baptisme is not the meane whilk God hath apoyntit to assure oure consciences that the league betwix God and us is permanent and sure. But his Halie Spreit, wrytting in oure hartis trew and unfeaned repentance, leideth us to the throne of our Fatheris mercie; and he according as he hes chosin us in Chryst Jesus, his onlie weilbelovit, befoir the fundatioun of all warldis wer laid, and according as in tyme he hath callit us and gevin to us the signe of his

[1] Justice, righteousness.

childrene, sa doith he acknawledge and avowe us yit to be of his heavinlie houshald. And to seall the same, his everlasting mercie, mair deiplie in oure hartis, and to declair the same befoir the warld, he sendeth us to the tabill of his deir Sone, Chryst Jesus oure Lord, wha at his Last Supper, in his corporall lyfe had with his Discipillis, he did institute for his kirk, and command the same to be usit, in rememberance of him to his coming againe. To the whilk when we present our selves, as in hart we do beleive (I speik of Godis chosin childrene), sa in mouth we do confes, and befoir the warld solempnelie we protest, that we ar the houshald of God our Father, receavit in the league of his mercie according to the purpois of his awn gud pleasure; and that we, memberis of the bodie of Chryst Jesus, wer cled with his justice and innocencie, and thairfoir now doith he admit us to his tabill, and expresselie in his word setteth befoir us the bread of lyfe whilk discendit fra the heavin, to assure our consciences that oure former defectioun fra him notwithstanding, with joy doith he ressave us as the father did his unthankfull and prodigall sone, returning to him fra his wreachit conditioun and miserable povertie. This halie tabill, I say, hath the wisdome of God commandit to be usit in his Kirk, to assure the memberis of his bodie, that his Majestie changeth not as man doith, but that his giftis and vocatioun ar suche, as of the whilk he can not repent him towardis his elect. And thairfoir neid thai not to rin to the externall signe of baptisme, sic, I meane, as anis have bene baptisit, suppose that it was in the Papistrie; but thai aucht to have recours to the effect and significatioun of baptisme; that is, that of frie grace and mercie thai ar ressavit in the houshald of God; and for better confirmation of thameselves in this misterie. And to protest the same befoir the warld, thai aucht to adress thameselves, as occasioun salbe offerit, to the Lordis Tabill, as befoir is said.

Heirof I suppois that it be proved, That Baptisme anis ressavit sufficeth in this lyfe, but that the use of the Lordis

Tabill is oftentymes necessarie: for the ane, to wit, baptisme is the signe of our first entrance; but the other is the declaratioun of oure covenant, that be Chryst Jesus we be nurissit, manteanit, and continewit in the league with God our Father. The signe of our first entrance neideth not to be iterat, becaus the league is constant and sure; but the signe of our nurissment and continewance, be reasone of our dulnes, infirmitie, and oblivioun, aucht oft to be usit. And thairfoir, whasoever yit object that yf the Papisticall baptisme can in na sort seall in our hartis the league of Godis mercie, seames that thai, as apostatis and tratouris, have declynit frome Chryst Jesus, refusit his justice, and establissit thair awne: In few wordis I ansuer, that sa was haill Israell under Jeroboam, and yit did nane of Godis Prophetis requyr of thais that wer circumcysit be the preist of Bethell, and be utheris in that confusioun and idolatrie, to be circumcysit againe; but that onlie thai suld turne thair hartis to the leving God, that thai suld refuse idolatrie and joyne thameselves with the sanctuarie of the living God, whiche was placed at Jerusalem as in the dayis of Ezechias and Josias is evident: Na mair aucht we to iterat baptisme, be whome soever it was ministred unto us in our infancie; but gif God of his mercie call us frome blindnes, he maketh our baptisme, how corrupt that ever it was, availabill unto us, be the power of his Halie Spreit.

"But then, (sall sum say,) it is alyke whether my child be baptisit with Chrystis trew institutioun, or with the adulterat signe." God avert from us that wilfull and fulische blindnes! for gif sa unthankfullie we rend[1] Godis benefittis offirit, we and our posteritie maist justlie merite to be depryvit of the same; as na dout thai sall, who so lichtlie do esteme thame, that thai mak na difference nor conscience whether thai dedicat and offir thair children to God or unto the Divill. Nether sall the factis[2] of oure fatheris, who did offir us to the same baptisme, excuis us, for according to the blindnes of

[1] In MS. M. "rent." [2] Factis, deeds.

thois tymes. thai judgeit and estemit that to be the perfyct ordinance and institutioun of Chryst Jesus, and thairfoir in simplicitie, albeit in errour, did thai offer us thair children to the same. They did not offer us to be circumcysit with the Jew, or with the Turk, but to be baptisit as members of Chrystis bodie. The religioun was corrupt and the signe adulterat, I confes; but this was unknawin to thame, and thairfoir is not thair errour and blindnes imputtit upon us, thair posteritie. But what sall this avale us, to whome the lycht schyneth and the veritie is so plainlie reveallit, that oure awn conscience man beir record that we do wrong, not of ignorance, but rather of malice; or that we dar not avowe Chryst Jesus before the warld! Sall it not be said unto us, "This is condempnatioun, that the lycht is cum into the warld; but now, men love darkness mair nor lycht. Gif I had not cum, and had spoken unto thame, thay had had no sin; but now, haif thai nathing whairby to excuse thameselves, becaus thai have sene, and yit do hait!" This assuredlie it salbe said to our confusioun, gif we proceid in sic contempt of the graces offirit. This, I trust, sall suffice the moderat.

Tuiching the Blude of beistis forbiddin to be eattin be the Apostill. [it] doth not bind this day the conscience of Christianis: for it was but temporall, and servit onlie till sic tyme as the Jewis and Gentillis mycht grow togidder in one bodie. And yf any ask, How can this be done? I ansuer, be the plane wordis of St Paule, wha wrytting to the Corinthians, planelie affirmeth, that meatis offirit unto idollis (whilk be the decree of the Apostillis ar forbiddin, as weill as is blude,) ar not to be abhorrit, nether yit to be absteanit frome, for any othir caus, but onlie for the conscience of him that sall admonische that sic thingis wer offirit unto idollis. "For his conscience sake, (sayith the Apostill,) thow sall absteane, othirwayes thow mayest eat whatsoever is sauld in the boucherie."[1] And to the Romanis,

[1] "Butchery," in the shambles. (1 Cor. x. 25.)

he solemnedlie protesteth, and that be the Lord Jesus, "that he assuredlie knaweth that nathing is commoun (that is uncleane and defyllit) by the self, but to him that esteameth it uncleane." And oure Maister and Saviour, Chryst Jesus, the end of the law and the accomplisment of all figuris, doith delyver oure conscience frome all doutis, saying, "Not that whilk entereth in by the mouth defylleth the man, but that whilk proceideth from the heart." Heirof I suppois it be plane, that the precept to absteane from blude, gevin be the Apostill, was temporall and not perpetuall; for uthirwayis the Halie Gaist, speiking oftin of the libertie of the Gentillis, wald have restraynit and exceptit it, as he hath done scortatioun,[1] whilk in the same decree is expressit, and licentious and filthie communicatioun, whilk the Gentillis estemeit na or small synnis.

Touiching Tythis, be the law of God thai apertene to na Preist, for now, we haif na Leviticall Preistheid, but by law positive, gift, custome, thai apertene to Princes, and be thair commandement to Men of Kirk, as thai walbe termit. In thair first donatioun, respect was had to another end, as thair awn law doith witness, then now is observit. For first, respect was had, that sic as wer accountit distributors of thois thingis that wer gevin to the Kirk men, sould have thair reasonable sustentatioun of the same; making just account of the rest, how it wes to be bestowit upon the poore, the stranger, the wydow, the fatherless, for whais releif, all sic rentis and dewteis wer cheiflie apoyntit to the Kirk. Secundlie, that provisioun suld be maid for the Ministeris of the kirk, that mair frelie, and without solicitude and cair, thai mycht attend upon thair vocatioun, whilk was, to teache and instruct the pepill of God. And sum respect was had to the repairing of the kirkis: whairof no jote is at this day in the Papacie rightlie observit. The poore,[2] we sic altogidder neglectit by the Bischopis, proud Prelatis, and filthie Clargie, who upon thair

[1] "Scortation," fornication. [2] In MS. M. "pure."

awn bellies, licens, and vanitie, consume whatsoever was commandit to be bestowit upon the poore. Thay preach not trewlie and sinceirlie, but thair landis, rentis, and pompous Prelaceis, is all thai cair for, and set rakennyng of.

A LETTER

OF WHOLESOME COUNSEL,

ADDRESSED TO HIS BRETHREN

IN SCOTLAND.

JULY M.D.LVI.

IN the spring of 1556, while Knox was still in Scotland, he received letters from the Church of the English exiles at Geneva, inviting him to return and undertake the office of the ministry to which, during his absence, he had been appointed.[1] The state of affairs in this country was such, that he deemed it advisable to comply with this invitation. When about to leave for a season those among whom he had so assiduously laboured in word and doctrine, he wrote the following Letter of Counsell, containing such directions as he considered most suitable in the circumstances in which they were placed, for holding stated meetings for prayer, reading, and religious instruction, while destitute of the privileges of public worship. And, while recommending that their assemblies ought always to be closed as well as opened by prayer, he signified his own readiness to give them his advice by letter, whenever it should be required, on any difficulties which might perplex them in their conferring passages of Scripture. "There is every reason to conclude (says his Biographer) that these directions were punctually complied with; this Letter may therefore be viewed as an important document regarding the state of the Protestant Church in Scotland, previous to the establishment of the Reformation."[2] It is dated on the 7th of July 1556.

Although the Protestants in Scotland had hitherto been precluded from making an open profession of truth, or from enjoying the benefit of regular ministrations publicly sanctioned, their position was very similar to that of their brethren

[1] See "Brief Discourse," &c., *supra*, p. 51.

[2] M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 192.

in England during the reign of Queen Mary. "When the learned preachers and ministers," says Strype, "were most of them [illegible] and the flocks left destitute of their faithful pastors, some of the laity, tradesmen, or others, indued with parts and some learning, used in that distress, to read the Scriptures to the rest in their meetings, and the letters of the martyrs and prisoners, and other good books; also to pray with them, and exhort them to stand fast, and to establish them in the confession of Christ to the death."[1] He elsewhere remarks, "The course they took in these sad times, was the same which the Primitive Christians did, when they were under their persecutions, namely, prayers and tears. They continued to assemble together in the hottest times: and in these assemblies sometimes they only prayed together."[2]

This Letter, with the running title, "Watche and pray with diligence," was printed at the time, being annexed to the original edition of his "Exposition of the Sixth Psalm," as well as in the republication at London in 1580.[3] It is also contained in Dr M'Crie's manuscript volume, with this title: "To his Brethren in Scotland, efter he had bene quyet amang thame."[4] The title in the opposite page forms the concluding portion of the separate title-page to his "Comfortable Epistle," given in facsimile, vol. iii. p. 237.

[1] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. iii. p. 364.

[2] Ib. vol. iii. p. 245.

[3] See vol. iii. pp. 114–116, 238.

[4] Ib. p. 116.

A MOST WHOLESOME COUNSELL HOW TO BEHAVE OURSELVES IN THE MIDST OF THIS WICKED GENERATION, TOUCHING THE DAILY EXERCISE OF GOD'S MOST HOLY AND SACRED WORD.

The Comfort of the Holy Ghost, &c., for Salutation.

NOT so muche[1] to instruct you, as to leave with you (dearlie beloved Brethren) some testimony of my love, I have thought good to communicate with you, in these fewe lynes, my weake counsaill, how I woulde ye shoulde behave your selfes in the middes of thys wicked generation, touchinge the exercise of God's mooste sacred and holy Woorde, without which,[2] neither shal knowledge encrease, godlines appeare, nor fervencye contynewe amongest you. For as the Woorde of God is the beginning of lyfe spirituall, without which all flesh is dead in God's presence, and the lantern to our fete, without the brightnes whereof all the posteritie of Adam doeth walk in darkenes; and as it is the foundacion[3] of faith, withoute which no man understandeth the good wil of God, so it is also the onelye organe and instrument which God useth to strengthen the weake, to comfort the afflicted, to reduce to mercy by repentance such as have slydden, and, finally, to preserve and kepe the very lyfe of the soule in all assaultes and temptations. And therof,[4] if that ye desyre your knowledge to be increased, your faith to be confirmed, your conscience to be quyeted and

[1] In MS. M., "Not sa mekill."
[2] Ib. "without the whilk."
[3] Ib. "the fundament."
[4] Ib. "thairfoir."

comforted, or, finally, your soule to be preserved in lyfe, let youre exercise bee frequent in the law of your Lord God. Despise not that precepte which Moyses (who by his own experience had learned what comfort lyeth hydde within the
DEUT. 6. Worde of God) gave to the Israelites in these wordes, "These woordes, which I commaunde thee this day, salbe in thy hart; and thou shalt exercyse thy children in them. Thou shalt talke of them when thou art at home in thy house, and as thou walkest by the way, and when thou lyest doune, and when thou risest up; and thou shalt bynd them for a signe upon the hand, and they shalbe papers of remembraunce betweene thyne eyes; and thou shalt write them upon the postes of thy house, and upon thy gates." And Moyses, in an other place, commaundeth them to "remember the lawe of the Lord God, to do it that it may be well with them, and with theyr children in the lande which the Lorde their God should geve them." Meaning, that like as frequent memory and repetition of Goddes preceptes is the meanes[1] wherby the feare of God, which is the beginning of all wisedom and felicitie, is kept recent in mynd: So is negligence and oblivion of God's benefites received, the first degre[2] of defection from God.

Now, if the Law, which by reason of our weakenes can worke nothing but wrath and anger, was so effectual, that remembred and rehersed of purpose to do it, it brought to the people a corporall benediction, what shall we saye that the glorious Gospell of Christ Jesus doeth worke, so that with reverence it be entreated? S. Paul calleth it the sweet odor of life to those that shall receyve lyfe, borowinge his similitude of odoriferous herbes or precious oyntmentes, whose nature is, the more that they be touched or moved, to send forth their odour more pleasant and delectable: Even such, deare Brethren, is the blessed Evangelie of our Lord Jesus; for the more that it be entreted, the more comfortable and puissant[3] is it to such as do heare,

[1] In MS. M., "is the middis."
[2] Ib. "first grie."
[3] Ib. "mair puissant."

reade, or exercise the same. I am not ignorant, that as the Israelites lothed the manna, because that every daye they sawe and eate but one thinge, so some there bee now-a-dayes, (who will not be holden of the worste sorte,) that after once readinge some parcelles of the Scriptures, do commit[1] themselfs altogether to prophane authors and humain lectures,[2] because that the varietie of matters therin conteined doeth bringe with it daily delectation, where contrariwyse within the simple Scriptures of God the perpetuall repetition of one thinge is fashious and werysome. This temptation, I confesse, may enter in God's very elect for a time, but impossible it is that therein they continew to the end; for God's election, besydes other evidente signes, hath this ever joyned with it, that God's elect are called frome ignoraunce (I speake of those that are come to the yeares of knowledge) to some taist and feelinge of God's mercy, of the which they are never so satisfied in this lyfe, but from tyme to tyme they hunger and they thurst to eate the bread that descended from heaven and to drynk the water that springeth to lyfe everlasting; which they can not do but by the meanes of Faith, and Faythe looketh ever to the will of God revealed by the Word, so that Faith hath both her beginning and continuance by the Word of God. And so I saye, that impossible it is that God's chosen children can despise or reject the worde of their salvation of any longe continuance, neither yet lothe it to the ende.

Often it is that God's electe are holden in such bondage and thraldom, that they can not have the breade of life broke unto them, neither yet free libertie to exercise them selfs in God's holy Worde; but then God's deare children do not loth, but most gladly do they covet the foode of their soules; then do they accuse their former negligence, then lament they the miserable affliction of their brethren, and then crye and call they in their hartes (and openly where they dare) for free pas-

[1] In MS. M., "convert," or turn themselves.

[2] Ib. "humane letters."

sage of the Gospel. This hunger and thurste dothe prove[1] the lyfe of their soules. But if such men, as havinge lybertye to reade and exercise them selfs in God's holy Scriptures, and yet begin to weary, because from tyme to tyme they reade but one thing, I aske, Why weary they not also every daye to eate breade? Every daye to drincke wyne? Every daye to beholde the brightenes of the sunne? And to use the rest of Goddes creatures, which every day do kepe their owne substaunce, course, and nature? They shall aunswer, I trust, Because such creatures have a strength, [as oft as they are used, to expell hunger, to quench thirst, to restore strength, and][2] to preserve the lyfe. O miserable creatures![3] Who dare attribute more power and strength to[4] the corruptible creatures in norishing and preserving the mortall carcas, than to the eternall Word of God in the norishment of the soule, which is immortall! To reason with their damnable[5] unthankfulnes at this present it is not my purpose: But to you, deare Brethren, I write my knowledge, and do speake my conscience, that so necessarye as the use of meate and drincke is to the preservation of lyfe corporall, and so necessary as the heate and brightnes of the sunne is to the quickeninge of herbes, and to expell darkenes; so necessary is also to the lyfe everlastinge, and to the illumination and light of the soule, the perpetuall meditation, exercyse, and use of Goddes holye Worde.

And therefore, deare Brethren, if that ye looke for a lyfe to come, of necessitie it is that ye exercise your selfes in the booke of the Lorde youre God. Let no daye slyppe or want[6] some comfort receyved from the mouth of God. Open your eares, and he will speake even pleasant thinges to your hart. Close not your eyes, but diligentlye let them beholde

[1] In MS. M., "doth argue and prufe."

[2] The words enclosed by brackets are omitted in the original edition, and also in the edition of 1580.

[3] In MS. M., "wreatches."

[4] In the orig. edit., "to" is usually printed "too."

[5] In MS. M., "abhominable."

[6] Ib. "Let na day slip over without sum comfort."

what portion of substance is lefte to you within your Father's testament. Let your tounges learne to prayse the gracious goodnes of Him, whose mere mercy hath called you frome darkenes to lighte, and frome deathe to lyfe. Neither yet maye ye doe this so quietly that ye wil admit no witnesse.[1] No, Brethren, ye are ordeyned of God to rule your owne houses in hys true feare, and accordynge to hys Woorde. Within your own houses, I say, in some cases, ye are bishoppes and kynges; your wyfe, chyldren, servauntes, and familye are youre bishopryke and charge; of you it shalbe requyred howe carefullye and dylygentlye ye have alwayes instructed theym in Goddes true knowlege, how that ye have studied in them to plant vertue and repress vice. And therefore, I say, ye must make them partakers in readyng, exhorting, and in makyng common prayers, which I would in every house wer used once a day at least. But above all thynges, deare Brethren, study to practise in life that which the Word of God commaundeth, and then bee you assured that ye shal never heare nor reade the same wythout fruite. And thus much[2] for the exercises wythin youre house.[3]

Considering that Sainct Paule calleth the congregacion "the bodie of Christ," wherof every one of us is a member, teachyng us therby that no member is of sufficiency to susteyne and feade it selfe without the helpe and support of another; I thynke it necessary for the conference of Scriptures, assemblies of brethren be had. The order therin to be observed is expressed by S. Paul, and therefore neede not I to use many wordes in that behalfe; onely willing, that when ye convent[4] or come together, which I would wer once a weeke, that your begynnyng should be from confessyon of your offences, and invocation of the Spirite of the Lorde Jesus to assyste you in all your godly enterprises. And then lette some place of Scripture be plainly and distinctly red, so much as shal be thought sufficient for

[1] In MS. M., "witnessis."
[2] Ib. "this mekill."
[3] Ib. "houssis."
[4] Convene, assemble.

one day or tyme; which ended, if any brother have exhortacion, question, or doubt, let him not feare to speake or move the same, so that he doe it wyth moderation, eyther to edifie or to be edified. And hereof I doubt not but greate profet shall shortly ensue; for, first, by hearing, readyng, and conferryng the Scriptures in the assemblie, the hole body of the Scriptures of God shall become familiar, the judgements and sprites of men shall bee tryed, their pacience and modesty shalbe knowen; and, finally, their gifts and utterance shall appeare. Multiplication of wordes, prolixet interpretaciouns, and wilfulnese in reasoning, is to be avoyded at all tymes, and in all places, but cheifly in the congregacion, where nothing ought to be respected except the glory of God, and comforte or edificatioun of brethren.

If any thing occurre wythin the text, or else aryse in reasoning, whylke youre judgemente can not resolve or capacities apprehend, let the same be noted and put in wryting before ye dismisse the congregatioun, that when God shall offer unto yow any interpreter, your doubts beeyng noted and knowen, may have the more expedite resolution; or els that when ye shall have occasioun to wryte to suche as with whome ye woulde communicate youre judgementes, your letters may signifie and declaire your unceasing desyre that ye have of God and of his trew religion; and they, I doubt not, according to thair talentes, will endevour and bestowe their faithfull labours to satisfy your godly petitionis. Of my selfe I will speake as I think; I wyll more gladly spende xv. houres in communicatyng my judgemente with yow, in explanyng as God pleases to open to me any place of Scripture, then halfe ane houre in any matter besyd.

Farther, I wolde, in readyng the Scripture, ye shold joyne some bokes of the Olde and some of the New Testament togeder, as Genesis and one of the Evangelistis, Exodus wyth another, and so furth; ever endynge suche bokes as ye begynne, (as the tyme will suffer,) for it shal greatly comforte

yow to heire that harmony and weill-tuned song of the Holie Sprite speiking in oure fatheris frome the begynnyng. It shall confirme yow in theis dangerous and perilous dayes to behold the face of Chryst Jesus his loving spous and church,[1] frome Abell to him selfe, and frome him self to thys day, in all ages to be one. Be frequent in the Prophetis and in the Epistillis of St Paul, for the multitude of maters, most comfortable thairin conteyned, requireth exercyse and good memory. Lyke as youre assemblies ought to begyn with confessioun and invocatioun of Godis Holy Sprite, so walde I that thay wer finissit with[2] thankesgivyng and common praiers for princes, rulers, and magistrates; for the libertie and free passage of Chrystes Evangell, for the comfort and delyverance of oure afflicted brethren in all places nowe persecuted, but most cruelly within the realme of France and England; and for such other thinges as the Sprite of the Lorde Jesus shall teache unto you to bee profitable, eyther to your selves, or to your brethren whereseever they be.

If thus (or better) I shall hear that ye exercyse yourselves, deare Brethren, then will I prayse God for your great obedience, as for thame that not onely have ressaved the word of grace with gladnes, but that also, with care and diligence, doe keepe the same as a treasure and jewell moste precious. And because that I cannot suspect, that ye will doe the contrarye at thys present, I will use no threatnynges, for my goode hope is, that ye shall walke as the sonnes of lyght in the myddes of this wicked generation; that ye shalbe as starres in the night season, who yet ar not chaunged into darknesse; that ye shalbe [as] wheate amanges the cockle,[3] and yet, that ye shal not chaunge your nature whyche ye have ressaved by grace, throughe the felloweschyp and participation whyche we have wyth the Lord Jesus in hys body and blood. And finally, that

[1] In MS. M., "kirk."

[2] Ib. "that they were never finished without thankisgeving."

[3] Ib. "kokill;" cockle, a weed that grows among corn.

ye shall be of the nomber of the prudent virgins, daylye renewynge your lampes with oyle, as they that patyentlie doe abyde the glorious apparycion and comming of the Lord Jesus; whose omnipotente Spirite rule and instructe, illuminate and comfort youre heartes and myndes, in all assaultis nowe and ever. Amen.

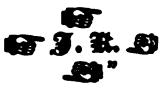
The grace of the Lord Jesus rest with yow.

Remember my weaknes in your daylie prayers. The 7 of July 1556.[1]

Your Brother unfeaned,

JOHN KNOX.

[1] Dr M'Crie has printed this Letter in the Appendix to his Life of Knox, but by some oversight in the later editions, he gives the date, 7th July 1557. In MS. M., the date is distinctly 1556. The old printed edition ends thus: "7. Julii. 1.5.5.6.



THE FORM OF PRAYERS

AND MINISTRATION OF

THE SACRAMENTS, &c., USED

IN THE ENGLISH CONGREGATION

AT GENEVA.

M.D.LVI.

THE peculiar forms of Presbyterian worship and government may be clearly traced to Geneva and the writings of Calvin. His Catechism for the use of the Church of Geneva was first published in French in the year 1536, and in Latin, "Basileae, in officina Roberti Winter, anno 1538, mense Martio," along with a formulary of Confession and of Discipline for the government of the church which he had newly established in that city. This small but important and valuable work, being carefully revised, was republished under the following title: "Catechismus Ecclesiæ Genevensis, primo Gallice 1536 scriptus, deinde ab ipso Auctore eo, qui nunc exstat, ordine et methodo editus Latine: Adjecta Formula, tum Precum publicarum, tum Administrationis Sacramentorum." Genevæ, 1545, 8vo.[1]—"Catechismus Ecclesiæ Genevensis, hoc est, Formula erudiendi Pueros in Doctrina Christi. Authore Ioan. Caluino. Argentorati, apud Wendelinum Rihelium, Anno 1545," 12mo. In his preface, addressed to the Ministers in East Friesland, Calvin refers to his having published the brief summary of Catechism, seven years previously. This preface is dated at Geneva, on the 4th of the Calends of December, that is, on the 29th of November, 1545.

These Prayers were repeatedly published in a separate form. "Formes des Prieres Ecclesiastiques, avec le Maniere d'administrer les Sacremens, et celebrer le Mariage, et la visitation des Malades." Geneve, 1541, 8vo.—"Formes des Prieres, et Chants Ecclesiastiques." Strassbourg, 1545.[2]—"Formula Sa-

[1] Dr Paul Henry, das Leben Johann Calvins des grossen Reformators. Hamburg, 1844. Vol. iii. (Beilagen, pp. 190–195.)

[2] Ib. p. 202. I suspect the date 1541 must be a mistake for an edition with the same title, printed at Geneva in 1561, 12mo. That of Strasburg, in the year 1545, I have not been able to meet with.

cramentorum administrandorum, in vsum Ecclesiæ Geneuensis conscripta. Dudum a Joanne Caluino Gallice conscripta, nunc in Latinum conuersa ab alio quopiam. Genevae, ex officina Ioannis Crispini. M.D.LII." 12mo, pp. 31.

Of the Catechisms and Forms of Prayer referred to, there were numerous subsequent editions; and of the former, in particular, translations appeared in most of the European languages.[1]

The form of prayers and church service thus adopted by the Helvetic Church, has ever since continued in use among the French Protestants; and has also served as a model to the Reformed Churches in other countries.

When the French congregation of Strasburg sought a place of refuge in England, in consequence of the *Interim*, their minister, Valerandus Pollanus, translated into Latin, and published with a dedication to Edward the Sixth, dated February 19, 1551, the "Liturgia Sacra, seu Ritus Ministerii in Ecclesia Peregrinorum profugorum propter Evangelium Christi Argentinæ, 1551. Adjecta est ad finem brevis Apologia pro hac Liturgia, per Valerandum Pollanum Flandrum." Londini, 1551, 8vo. Strype, in his Ecclesiastical Memorials, has given a short abstract of this Argentine or Strasburg Liturgy.[2]

When these refugees were constrained to leave England during Queen Mary's reign, they obtained the use of a church at Frankfurt; and when several English Protestants arrived in that city in the year 1554, the same privilege was awarded to them, according to the details given in the "Brief Discourse," which forms the first article in the present volume.

As the two congregations were required to observe the same forms of public worship and discipline, the Liturgy already mentioned was, with some changes, adopted by the mutual con-

[1] An English translation, by Maister William Huyck, was "Imprinted at London by Edward Whitchurche, the viij. day of June 1550," 12mo. It is a volume of great rarity.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 242. See also Burn's History of Foreign Refugees, p. 91. Herbert's Typographical Antiq., vol. ii. p. 770.

sent of the French and English congregations, and published under the following title: "LITVRGIA SACRA, seu Ritus Ministerij in Ecclesia peregrinorum Francofordiæ ad Mœnum. Addita est Summa Doctrinæ seu Fidei Professio eiusdem Ecclesiæ. Psalm. CXLIX. *Laudem Deo canite in Ecclesia Sanctorum.* Ioan. I. *Veni et vide.* Francofordiæ, 1554." Small 8vo, pp. 92, (The colophon bears,) "Impressum Francofordiæ apud Petrum Brubachium, 1554."[1] In the Epistola Nuncupatoria, to the Christian Reader, the "Ecclesia Peregrinorum quæ est Francofordiæ collecta," expresses gratitude to the Senate of that city for the Christian liberty and peace which they enjoyed. It is dated in the Calends of September 1554; and the "Professio Fidei Catholicæ," is signed as follows:

"Subscripserunt Pastor et Seniores Ecclesiæ Gall. quæ est Francofordiæ.

VALERANDUS POLLANUS. Pastor Ecclesiæ.
IOANNES MURELLIUS. D.
GEORGIUS MAUPAS.
IACOBUS CRUCIUS.
LUDOUICUS CASTELLIO.

"Subscribunt etiam Angli ob Euangelium profugi, totius Ecclesiæ suæ nomine.

IOANNES MAKBRÆUS. M.
IOANNES STANNTO.
VUILLIERMUS HAMONUS.
IOANNES BENDALLUS.
GUIL. VUHYTINGHAMUS."

It is of some importance to notice this subscription by Mackbray, Staunton, Hammond, Bendall, and Whittingham, in the name of the English congregation, as fully confirming the statement of the unanimity which prevailed, and the terms upon which the use of the church had been granted by the Magistrates of Frankfurt.[2] This Liturgy was again republished in the fol-

[1] A copy is preserved in the University Library, Glasgow.

[2] See "Brief Discourse," &c., *supra* page 10.

lowing year, but the names of the English subscribers were omitted.[1]

According to Knox's own statement,[2] in order to terminate the discussions at Frankfurt regarding the forms of public worship, a settled Order was agreed upon, to remain in force till the month of April. In the "Brief Discourse," it is expressly stated, that previously to this agreement (which was so speedily disregarded) the English Congregation concluded, "that Maister Knox, Maister Whittingham, Maister Gilby, Maister Foxe, and Maister T. Cole, shulde drawe forthe some Order meete for their state and time: whiche thinge was by them accomplished, and offred to the Congregation, (*being the same* ORDER OF GENEVA *whiche is now in print*). This Order was verie well liked of many; but such as were bent to the Booke of Englande could not abide it."[3]

The increasing dissensions after Knox's departure from Frankfurt, necessarily prevented the adoption of this Order. Whittingham, in a letter without date, addressed to a friend in England, states, that as peace could not be established in that Congregation, he had visited Basel and Geneva, and obtained from the Magistrates of these cities permission for such of his fellow-exiles as might come to either place, to have full liberty to form themselves into a Church.[4] This must have been in the autumn of 1555; as it is recorded, that Williams, Wood, Gilby, Goodman, Whittingham, and ten others, with their families, came to Geneva on the 13th of October that year, *to use the benefit of the Churche then newly granted.* A memorandum bears, "that the Church was erected the first of November 1555."

The original edition of "The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments," &c., is dated in February 1556.[5]

[1] "Editio Secunda. Francofurdiæ, 1555." 12mo, sign. A to H, in eights, in the British Museum.

[2] *Supra*, page 41. [3] Ib. page 30.

[4] "Brief Discourse," &c., p. xlix.

[5] Of this rare and interesting volume, copies are to be found in the Advocates and Bodleian Libraries; and likewise in that of the late W. H. Miller, Esq., at Britwell.

Whether we are to understand this date according to our present mode of reckoning, or apply it to the year 1556–7, is somewhat doubtful. According to the former computation, the work must have been printed while Knox was in Scotland; yet as it had been prepared by him and the four others already named, and as it continued to be employed during his ministrations at Geneva, his concern in the work would still be undisputed. When the church was erected, on the 1st of November 1555, Christopher Goodman and Anthony Gilby were "appointed to preache the Word of God and mynystre the Sacraments *in the absence of John Knox.*" This evidently implies that he had previously been considered their minister, from his connection with the greater number of the congregation while they remained at Frankfurt. He arrived at Geneva with his wife, her mother, his servant, and a pupil named Patrick, on the 13th September 1556. And accordingly, when the annual election of the office-bearers took place, on the 16th of November, "when the first yere was ended, then the whole congregation did elect and chuse John Knox and Christopher Goodman to be Ministers." On the same day, in the following years 1557 and 1558, Knox and Goodman were "elected and chosen still to continue Ministers;" and in the lists of Seniors (or Elders) we find the names of Gilby, Whittingham, Williams, Fuller, Bodley, Wood, and Coverdale.[1]

It is not necessary in this place to institute any comparison of the early Liturgies of the Reformed Churches. Calvin's Forms of Prayer and Discipline, as already mentioned, served as a model for such of the English Congregations as objected to the full use of the Book of Common Prayer. The words in which the Prayers were expressed are changed, but the

[1] These particulars are derived from a little tract, entitled, "Livre des Anglois, à Genève," compared with notes kindly furnished from the Registers at Geneva, by the distinguished historian, Dr Merle D'Aubigné. The tract referred to, "With a few biographical notes by John Southerden Burn." It was printed at London, 1831, 8vo, pp. 20, as a sequel to Mr Burn's "Registrum Ecclesiæ Parochialis," Lond. 1829, 8vo.

forms of worship were alike. It was the adoption of this simpler form of public worship, and not matters of doctrine that gave rise to the unhappy dissensions at Frankfurt, and to Nonconformity in England, among the early Puritan Divines, whose consciences felt burdened when an absolute conformity to the ritual observances of the Church of England was pressed upon the clergy, by Queen Elizabeth and Archbishops Parker and Whitgift.

Considering Knox's share in preparing the following Order, his sanctioning its use, and its being usually known under his name, there can be little doubt of the propriety of including this Liturgy in its original form in the series of his writings. It is here carefully reprinted from the earliest edition. Another edition, in 1558, is specially referred to,[1] but no copy of it has been traced. We may however conclude, that like the edition of 1561,[2] it was a literal reprint of the original edition. The Latin translation was published at the same time with the English copy, and is usually attributed to Whittingham. In the earlier editions, it is accompanied with a translation of Calvin's Catechism, and with the metrical version of a portion of the Psalms, by Sternhold and Hopkins. These, of course, are here omitted. When the same Liturgy was received by the Church of Scotland, in 1565, it was accompanied with a complete metrical version of the Psalms, set to music; and several additional Prayers were subjoined. A collation of the Liturgy of 1565, known as the "Book of Common Order," with this of 1556, will afterwards be introduced.

[1] In the Collection of Confessions, (usually known as Dunlop's Collection, from its having a Preface by the Rev. W. Dunlop,) vol. ii. Edin. 1722, the Editor states, that in reprinting the Geneva Forms of Prayers, &c., he had collated one of the later editions, 1600, with a copy printed at Geneva in 1558. Another edition bears to have been "Printed first at Geneva, M.D.LVIII. Now reprinted at London, M.DC.XLIII." 4to.

[2] A copy of this edition is in the Editor's possession, through the favour of his Grace the Duke of Manchester.

The forme of pray-

ERS AND MINISTRA-
tion of the Sacraments, &c. vſed in the
Engliſhe Congregation at Geneua: and
approued, by the famous and godly lear-
ned man, Iohn Caluyn.

and fewe finde it. Mat. 7.

The way to life is ſtreicte

They haue forſaken me, the well of the water of lyfe, and dygged thymſelues pyttes, yea vyle and broken pyttes, that can hold no water. Iere. 2.

IMPRINTED AT GENEVA BY
IOHN CRESPIN M.D.LVI.

THE CONTENTES OF THE BOOKE.

1 The confession of the Christian faythe. 33
2 Thorder of electinge Ministers, Elders, and Deacons. 42
3 Thassembly of the Ministory every thursdaye. 49
4 An order for the interpretation of the scriptures, and answeringe of dowtes, obserued euery mundaye. 50
5 A confession of our synnes vsed before the sermon and framede to our state and tyme. 52
6 An other confession for all states and tymes. 55
7 A generall prayer after the sermon, for the whole estate of Christes Churche. 57
8 The ministration of Baptisme, and the Lordes Supper. 62. 71
9 The forme of Mariage, the Visitation of the Sycke and the Maner of Buryall. 80. 87. 88
10 An order of Ecclesiasticall Discipline. 89
11 One and fyftie Psalmes of Dauid in metre. 1. b.
12 The Catechisme of M. Caluyn. etcet. 1. c.

In 12mo, roman letter, pp. 93, but pages 25 to 32 are passed over. The Psalms, with a separate title, contain pp 159. The Catechism, also with a separate title-page, has pp. 168, the same woodcut on the first title being repeated, with this colophon:—

Imprinted at Geneua, by Iohn Crespin. Anno. D. M. D. LVI. the tenthe of february.

RATIO

ET FORMA

PVBLICE ORANDI DEVM, ATQVE ADMINISTRANDI SACRAMENTA, ET CAET.

IN ANGLORVM ECCLESIAM, quæ Genevæ colligitur, recepta: cum iudicio & comprobatione D. Iohannis Caluini.

I. COR. III.

Fundamentum aliud præter id quod iactum est, nemo potest ponere, quod est Iesus Christus.

GENEVÆ,

APUD IOANNEM CRISPINUM.

M. D. LVI.

RERUM NOTATIO QUAE
in hoc libello habentur.

1 CONfessio Christianæ fidei.
2 De conscribendis Pastoribus, Senioribus & Diaconis.
3 Ministerii conuentus, vnaquaque quarta die hebdomadæ.
4 Formula interpretandi Scripturas, prima septimanæ die obseruata.
5 Confessio totius Ecclesiæ nomine paulò antè concionem habita, ac temporib. accommodata.
6 Altera ad omnia temporum & ordinum momenta pertinens.
7 Preces à concione, ad vniuersæ Ecclesiæ Christianæ commodum factæ.
8 Ratio administrandi Baptismi, ac Cenæ Dominicæ
9 Modus instituendi matrimonii.
10 De visitandis ægrotis.
11 Ratio efferendi funus.
12 De Disciplina Ecclesiastica.

In 12mo, contains signatures A to E in eights, or pp. 80.

THE FORME OF PRAYERS AND MINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTES,

&c. vſed in the Engliſhe Congregation at Geneua: and approued, by the famous and Godly learned man. M. Iohn Caluin.

I. CORINTH. III.

¶ NO MAN CAN LAYE any other foundation, then that whiche is layde euen Chriſt Ieſus.

1561.

THE CONTENTES OF THE BOOKE.

1 The confession of the Christian faith.
2 The order of electynge Ministers, Elders, and Deacons.
3 The assemblie of the Ministerye, everye thursdaye.
4 An order for the interpretation of the Scriptures and aunswering of doubtes, obserued euery mundaye.
5 A confession of our sinnes vsed before the sermō and framed to our state and time.
6 Another confession for all states and tymes.
7 A generall prayer after the sermō, for the whole estat of Christes Churche.
8 The ministration of Baptisme, and the Lordes Supper.
9 The forme of Mariage, the Visitation of the sicke, and the Maner of Buriall.
10 An order of Ecclesiasticall Discipline.
11 Psalmes of Dauid in metre.
12 The Cathechisme.
13 A brief examination of children, before they be admitted to the Lordes table, &c.

In 12mo, roman letter, signatures a to l 4, in eights, numbered as folios 1 to 80. The Psalms, marked in the above Contents as No. 10, are not, however, contained in the book. The Catechism, No. 11, having a separate title-page, commences on folio 36, sign. iij. There is added a separate half sheet, sign. aa., of Morning and Evening Prayers.

Herbert, who possessed a copy, says it is evident the Psalms were not designed to be inserted in this edition, "for the order of Eccl. Discipline is concluded on fol. 35; and fol. 36 is the title-page of 'The Catechisme,' &c" (Typogr. Antiq. vol. iii. p. 1604.)

THE

Forme of pra=

yers and miniſtration of the Sa=craments &c. vſed in the Engliſh Churche at Geneua, and approued by the famous and godlie learned man, Iohn Caluin, whereunto are alſo added the praiers which they vſe there in the Frēche Churche:

With

the confeſſion of faith whiche all they make that are receiued into the vniuerſitie of Geneua.

I. Corinth. III.

No man can laye any other fundation thē that which is laid, euen Chriſt Ieſus.

Imprinted at Edinburgh,
by Robert Lekprewik.

Cum priuilegio.
1562.

THE CONTENTS OF THE BOKE.

1. The confession of the Christian faith.
2. The order of electing Ministers, Elders, and Deacons.
3. The assemblie of the Ministerie euery Thurisday.
4. An order for the interpretation of the Scriptures, and answering of doutes, obserued euery Munday.
5. A confession of our sinnes vsed before the sermone.
6. A generall prayer after the sermon for the whole estate of Christes Church.
7. Other sortes of prayer to be vsed after the sermon the Sonday, and day of publicke prayer.
8. The ministration of Baptisme, and the Lordes Supper.
9. The forme of mariage, the visitacion of the sicke, and the maner of burial.
10. An order of Ecclesiasticall discipline.

In 12mo, printed in black-letter, signatures a to i 5, in eights, numbered as folios 1 to 68.

On the reve:se of i 5, is this Colophon:

Imprinted at Edinburgh, by Robert Lekprewik and are to be soulde at his hous at the nether bow. Cum priuilegio.

1562.

To our Bretherne in Englande, and els where, which love Jesus Christe unfaynedly, Mercie and Peace.[1]

It is more evident and known to all men, then well considered and thankfully receyved of many, with what greate mercies,[2] and especiall graces God enduede our countrye of England in these latter days; when from Idolatrie he called us to the knowledge of his Gospell, and of no people made us his people, a holie people,[a] the people of God; sendinge us a Kinge[3] moste godly, learned, zealous, wyse, and such one as never sate in that royall chaire before. God's Woord universally spred over all the lande, repentance preached, Christes kingdome offered, sinne rebuked; so that none coulde excuse him selfe, either that he had not hearde, or els was not taught God's holy Ghospell; yet it came to passe, and this day that is verified on us, which the Lord reproved Israel for, sayinge, "I have stretched forthe my handes all the day longe unto a people that beleveth not, but rebelleth againste me, and walke after their owne ymaginations."[b] For whose ways were not corrupt! even from the highest to the lowest, from toppe to toe there was no part sownde.[c] Suche contempt of God's Word, aswell on their be-

a Gen. 2. d. Rom. 9. a. 1 Pet. 2. b.

b Esa. 65. a. Rom. 10. d.

c Esa. 1. b. 7. Hier. 2. b.

[1] This Preface, or Address, is usually ascribed to Whittingham, Dean of Durham. It is omitted in the Edinburgh edition of 1562, and in the later impressions printed in Scotland. In the Latin version, the title is, "Gratiam et misericordiam vobis a Deo Patre, qui vel in Anglia, vel in aliis locis degentes, Christum Iesum ex animo colitis." It contains Scripture references as in the English edition of 1556; but has no marginal notes as in the edition of 1561.

[2] "God's greate benefites bestowed uppon England."—(*Mary. note, edit.* 1561.)

[3] In the Latin version, "Nam ut ex tanta varietate pauca quædam commemoremus, Regem cujusmodi! quam pium," &c.

half to whom charge of preachinge was commytted,[1] as on the other syde, negligence to heare, and learne to frame their lyves accordinge thereunto; that yf the Lord had not hastened his plague and prevented, it wolde certenly have come to passe, whiche those wycked men of Anathoth sayed to the prophet Hieremie:[2] "Speake no more to us in this name of the Lorde."[d] The which unkyndnes and contempt, wold God we coulde as earnestly repent as we nowe feele the lacke of these accustomed mercies. For nowe the day of our visitation is come,[e] and the Lorde hath broght the plagues upon us,[f] wherof before we were admonished, and most justly menaced. For the false prophets are sent forthe with lies in their mouthes[g] to deceyve England; and the scarsetie of God's Worde is so great,[3] that althogh they seke it from one sea coaste to an other, yet they can not finde yt,[h] but as men affameshed devoure the pestiferous dounge of Papistrie, to the poisoninge of their owne sowles.

d Hier. 11. d.

e Luk. 19. f.

f Lev. 26. c. Deut. 27, 28, 30.

g 1 King. 22 c. 2 Chron. 18. c. Ex. 14. c.

h Amo. 8. d.

Let us therfore, Bretherne, tourne wholy to the Lord by repentance, fastynge, and prayer,[4] earnestly besechinge him to receyve us once agayne to his favor, who willeth not the death of a sinner; but his amendement, offeringe him selfe to all theym that in their necessitie seeke unto him, and like a moste mercifull Father proveth all remedies for our betteringe;[k] not cruelly punishinge to destroy us, but gently chastisinge to save us.

i Joel 2. c. Psal. 68. a. Jon. 3. d. 4. a.

k 2 Chro. 36. c. Esa. 5. a. Prov. 3 b. Heb. 12. b. Revel. 3. d.

Beware then ye harden not your hartes agaynst this mercifull Lord,[l] and tempt hym as the stubburne Jewes dyd, whom he therfore delyvered up into their enymies handes, to perishe with the swoorde, hunger, and pestilence. For God wyll not be mocked,[m] but lyke a consuminge fire will destroye aswell the wicked contemners of his Worde as the craftie dissemblers,[n] which go abowte to measure God by their fantasies;[5] not con-

l Heb. 3. b. 4. b. Psal. 94. c.

m Gal. 6 b.

n Heb. 12. g. Deu. 4. d.

[1] "The cause of Goddes plagues in England."—(*Mary. note, edit.* 1561.)

[2] "Jeremie."—(*Ib.*)

[3] In the Latin version, "Famem etiam prodigiosam verbi sui excitavit."

[4] "The onelye meane for Englande to recover God's favour and mercie."—(*Mary. note, edit.* 1561.)

[5] In the Latin version, "Deumque ex suo cerebro metiuntur."

sideringe that they heape damnation against theim selves in the day of his anger,[o] which nowe already is kindled, and begynneth to flame, to the condemnation of their sowles and bodies, who knowinge Jesus Christ to have once fully satisfied for our synnes,[p] cease not dayly, either in hart, mowth, or owtward consent to blaspheme his precious death, and (asmoche as in them lyeth) crucifie him a newe.[q] Do you not remembre that idolaters have no portion in the kingdome of God,[r] but are throwne into the lake of fyre and brymstone, where their worme shall never dye? Can not the examples of God's fearfull judgements move you,[s] who spared not his verie Angells when they trespassed, but hitherto reserveth theym in hell chaynes, to be tormented in the day of the Lord? and wyll he then favor idolaters, dissemblers, blasphemers, mockers, contemners? and not rather in this lyfe verifie that which the Holy Ghost pronounceth against the children of God's wrath, who becawse they do not receyve the trueth for their salvation, are led by lyes to their endeles condemnation?[t] At the least, let God's forwarnings[1] somewhat move you to pitie your owne state, who for your instructions suffereth your owne bretherne amongst you to die so terribly, some in dispaire, others to kyll theym selves, and many utteringe moste horrible blasphemies, even to their last breathe. The which thinges are so fearfull for us to heare, that we tremble in thinking therupon.

Yf you wyll therfore be counted in the nombre of God's people, and be so in deede; loke not backwarde frome the plough, returne not to your vomit, bowe not your knee to Baal, pollut not the temple of the Holie Ghost, in presentinge your selves[2] [to that most wicked and blasphemous Masse, with such like] idolls;[3][u] but either stand in the trueth, and so rather obey

o Rom. 2. a. Jam. 5. a.

p Heb. 9. a. Rom. 5. b. 1 Pet. 3. c.

q Heb. 6. a. 10. c. 1 Cor. 6. b.

r Gal. 5. c. Apo. 21. c. 22. c. Esa. 66. g. Mark 9. g.

s 2 Pet. 2. a. b. Jude a. Job 4. d.

t 2 Thes. 2. c. Joh. 3. c.

u Luk. 9. g. 2 Pet. 2. d. Pro. 23. b. Rom 11. a. 3 Kyng. 19. b. 1 Cor. 6. c.

[1] "Horrible plagues for apostacie to idolatry."—(*Mary. note, edit.* 1561.)

[2] "The Masse wycked and blasphemous."—(*Ib.*)

[3] In place of the words within brackets, supplied from the edit. 1561, the original edition has simply "before idolls." In the Latin version it is, "Neque vos ipsos sceleratæ Missæ, aut simulachris præstetis, quo templum Spiritus Sancti violetis."

12. a. e. God then man;[x] or els followe God's callinge, who hath so mercifully provyded for you, movinge the hartes of all godlie rulers and magistrates to pitie your state, and do you good, so that at Emden, Wesell, Franckford, and in this Citie,[1] he hath appointed godly churches, wherein you may learne to feare him, repent your synnes, amende your lyves, and recover agayne his favour and mercie.

And because there is no way more ready or sure to come to him, then by framynge our selves[2] altogether to his blessed wyll, reveiled unto us in his Worde;[y] we, to whome thogh God hath geven more libertie, yet no lesse lamentinge your bondage then rejoysinge in our owne deliverance frome that Babylonicall slavery and antichristian yoke, have earnestly endevored, emongste other thinges which might bringe us to the woorthy consideration of God's Woorde,[z] to frame our lyves, and refourme our state of religion in suche sort, that neither doute of the certeintie therof shuld make us feare, nor yet man's judgement discourage us, and cause us shrinke from this entreprise moste acceptable to God, comfortable to his Churche, and necessarely apparteyning to every Christian man's dutie.

15. c. 17. c. f.

5. g. 1. g. 1. c.

We, therefore, not as the greatest clearkes of all,[3] but as the lest able of many, do present unto you which desire the increas of God's glorie, and the pure simplicitie of his Woorde, a forme and order of a reformed churche, lymited within the compasse of God's Woorde,[4] which our Saviour hathe left unto us as onely sufficient to governe all our actions bye;[a] so that what so ever is added to this Worde by man's device,[5] seme it never so good, holy, or beautifull, yet before our God, whiche is jelous and can not admitt any companyon or counseller, it is

a. 3. c. 3. d. 22. d.

[1] In the Latin version, "In hac clarissima Civitate."

[2] In the edit. 1561, "framynge our lyves."

[3] In the Latin version, "His de causis hanc Formam instituendi Ecclesiam conscripsimus, non tanquam omnium doctissimi, aut ad hanc rem maxime apti; sed cæteris quam plurimis inferiores, voluntate tamen æqui," &c.

[4] "The Word of God the onely foundation of this book."—(*Marg. note, edit.* 1561.)

[5] "To mingle mannes dreames with Goddes Worde is wicked."—(*Ib.*)

evell, wicked, and abominable.[b] For he that is the wisdome of the Father, the brightenes of his glorie, the true light, the woorde of lyf, yea trueth and lyf it self,[c] can he gyve unto his Churche (for the which he payed the raunson of his bloode) that which shulde not be a sufficient assurance for the same? Can the woorde of trueth deceyve us? The way of life misguyde us? The worde of salvation damne us? God kepe us from suche blasphemies, and so direct our hartes with his Holy Spirit, that we may not onely content ourselves with his wisdome, but so rejoyse in the same, that we may abhorre all thinges which are contrarye.

b Luk. 16. d.

c 1 Cor. 1. d. Joh. 1. a. 14. a. Hebr. 1. a.

The which considerations, dere Bretherne, when we waighed with reverent feare and humblenes; and also knowing, that negligence in reforming that Religion which was begone in Englande, was not the leaste cause of God's rodds light upon us,[1] having now obteyned by the mercifull providence of our heavenly Father a free Churche for all our nation in this moste wourthy citie of Geneva,[2] we presented to the judgement of the famous man John Calvin,[3] and others learned in these parties, the Order which we mynded to use in our Churche: who approving it, as sufficient for a Christian congregation,[4] we put the same in execution, nothing douting but all godly men shall be muche edified therbye. And as for the Papistes, or malicious men and ungodly, we have not laboured to satisfie them, becawse we knewe no souveraigne medecine for their cankered sore, except it may please God, by our prayers, to be mercifull to them, and call them home, if they be not already forsaken.

But yet, for as muche as there are some, which through contynuance in their evell, rather deliting in custome then know-

[1] In edit. 1561, "layd upon us."—"Religion was not perfitly reformed in England."—(*Marg. note, edit.* 1561.)

[2] In the Latin version, "In hac clarissima totius orbis terrarum civitate."

[3] Ib. "Judicio grauissimi et doctissimi viri D. Ioan. Calvini."

[4] "The approbation of the Godlye learned."—(*Marg. note, edit.* 1561.)

ledge,[1] can not suffer that men shuld once open their mouthes against certeyne olde and receyved ceremonies, we thoght good in this place somewhat to touche that scrupulositie. For as ceremonies[2] grounded upon God's Woorde, and approuved in the New Testament, are commendable (as the circumstance therof doth support), so those that man hath invented, thogh he had never so good occasion therunto, if they be once abused, import a necessitie, hinder God's Woorde, or be drawen into a superstition, without respect ght to be abolished.

For if Ezechias was commended by the Holy Ghoste for
d 4 Kyngs. 18. a. breaking in pieces the brasen serpent,[d] which Moses had erected by God's commandement, and now had continued above 800 yeres, which thing of it self was not evell, but rather put men in remembrance of God's benefit; yet becawse it began to minister occasion to the people to committ idolatrie, was not to be borne withall: how muche more ght we to take heed, that through our occasion men committ not idolatrie with their owne imaginations and phantasies? It was not with out great cause, commanded by Almightye God, that the places, and other appertenances, which had served to idolatrie shuld be
e Deut. 12. a. d. 1. c. d. 4 Kyngs 18. a. utterly consumed,[e] lest babes and children, through occasion remembring the same, shuld falle into like inconvenience. And thinke you that we ght to be wiser? and not rather take heede, that those things which the Papistes and other idolaters have invented, or els observe as invented by man, may not enter in to Christes churche, as well to th'ende that the weake may not
f 1 Cor. 8. c. 10. Rom. 14. c. be confirmed in their error,[f] as that we may altogether seperate our selves from that idolatrous Babylon and temple of Be-
g 2 Cor. 6. d. Esa. 52. c. lial,[g] wherwith Christ hath no concorde nor agrement?

Ther was no one ceremonie more auncient, nor yet of better authorite, then the wasshing of the Disciples' feet, which was observed a longe time in the church, and institute by Christ
h Joh. 13. a. him selfe;[h] yet when some wer persuaded that it was a portion

[1] "Custome preferred to knowledge."—(*Mary. note, edit.* 1561.)

[2] "Certein causes why ceremonies ought to be abolished."—(*Ib.*)

Lordes Supper, and others thoght it served in steade of
ne, the godly churches in S. Augustine's tyme,[i] thoght
or to leave that which was ordeyned for a good use, then
yning the same, confirme an error or superstition. The
nians, for the relief of the poore, and to increase bro-
amytie together, dyd institute a feast,[k] immediatly after
rdes Supper.[l] But how sharply S. Paul did reprehende
ne, condemning in comparaison, that men shuld adde
ng to the Lordes institution, it appeareth by that he
'I have receyved of the Lorde that whiche I gave you."
reade also, that Ezechias and his nepheu Josias restored
e of the Passeover,[m] which had bene a very long tyme
tynewed; but in the ministration therof, they observed
er ceremonies then God had left to Moses from the be-
g.[n] Circumcision, likewise a sacrament, was evermore
ne sort ministred, even as the Lord commanded it.[o]
sh is the nature of fleshe, it wilbe wise, and have a stroke
s doings; yea, and how wilfully it causeth man to mayn-
nis owne phantasies, it is manifest to them which have
l the auncient recordes of the Churche. For begynning
usalem, and so comming to the rest of the churches, as
ntinople, Antioche, Alexandrie, and Rome, he shall see
, that their greatest disturbaunce and overthrowe,
l through ceremonies.[l] What conflict was at all tymes
t the Latine and Greeke Churches for the same, no Chris-
n consider without teares. And was there any thinge
bjected against S. Paul, both of the Galatians and also
rs,[p] then that he woulde not observe the ceremonies as
se Apostles dyd! and yet he kept them whiles any hope
gayne the weake bretherne, and therfore circumcised
e;[q] but when he perceyved that men wolde retayne
s necessarie thinges in the churche, he called that which
he made indifferent, wicked and impious, saying, that

i Epist. 119. ad Jan.

k 1 Cori. 11. d.

l Chrisost. in 11. cap 1. Corinth, Tertul. lib. ad uxorem

m 2 Chro. 30. a. 4 King. 23. c. 2 Chro. 30. a.

n Exod. 12. c. Lev. 23. c. Deu. 16. a.

o Gene. 17. b. Josu. 5. b.

p Gal. 1. 2 Act 21. d.

q Act 16. a.

st contention in Christes
, in all ages, for the mainten-
ance of unprofitable ceremonies."—
(*Marg. note, edit.* 1561.)

who so ever was circumcised, Christ coulde nothyng profitt them.[r] Fearing also, lest he had taken paynes amonges them in vayne, which joyned Christ with beggerly ceremonies.[s] Therfore, deare Bretherne, being hereby persuaded, and with many moo reasons confirmed, (which opportunitie permitteth not here to writ) we have contented our selves with that wisdome which we have learned in Godes booke, where we be taught to preache the Woorde of God purely,[t] minister the Sacramentes sincerely, and use prayers and other orders therby approved, to the increase of Godes glorye, and edification of his holye people. As touchinge preaching, for asmuche as it is allowed of all godly men, we may at this tyme leave the probation therof; and also for the ministration of the two sacramentes, our booke geveth sufficient proffe.[1]

r Gal. 5. a. Act. 15. a.

s Gal. 4. b.

t Act. 2 g. Matt. 28, 28.

But because prayers are after two maner of sortes, that is, either in wordes only, or els with songe joyned therunto; and thys latter part, as well for lack of the true use therof, as due consideration of the same, is called by many into doubt, whether it may be used in a reformed church; it is expedient that we note briefly a fewe thinges perteyning therunto. S. Paul geving a rule how men shulde singe, first saith, "I will singe in voice, and I will sing with understanding."[u] And in an other place, shewing what songes shulde be songe, exhorteth the Ephesians to "edifie one an other with psalmes, songes of praise, and such as are spirituall, singinge in their heartes to the Lord with thankes geving."[x] As if the Holy Ghoste wolde saye, that the songe did inflame the heart to call upon God, and praise him with a more fervent and lyvely zeale. And as musike or singinge is naturall unto us,[2] and therfore every man deliteth therein;[3] so our mercifull God setteth before our eyes,

u 1 Cor. 14. c.

x Ephes. 5 d. Jam. 5. c.

[1] In the Latin version, "Atque etiam Sacramenta ipsa, cum in libelli hujus progressione satis amplam probationem habeant, haud usque adeo opus esse videtur hoc in loco diligentius retractare."

[2] "Singing naturall."—(*Marg. note, edit.* 1561.)

[3] In the Latin version, "Utque natura omnibus est ingenitum concentus ac harmoniæ desiderium et appetitus, qui mirabiles sui amores in

how we may rejoyce and singe to the glorie of his name, recreation of our spirites, and profit of our selves.

But as ther is no gift of God so precious or excellent, that Satan hath not after a sort drawen to himself and corrupt, so hath he most impudentlye abused this notable gifte of singinge, chieflye by the Papistes[1] his ministers, in disfiguring it, partly by strange language, that can not edifie, and partly by a curious wanton sort, hyringe men to tickle the eares and flatter the phantasies, not esteminge it as a gifte approved by the Worde of God, profitable for the Churche, and confirmed by all Antiquitie. As, besides other places, is most manifest by the wordes of Plinius,[y] called the younger, who, when he was depute in Asia unto the Emperour Trajan, and had receyved charge to enquire out the Christians to put them to deathe, writ emongs other thinges, touchinge the Christians, "That their maners were to singe verses or psalmes early in the morninge to Christ their God."[2] Yf any, paradventure, wolde doute, when, or by whom these churches or assembles were institute, it is likewise evident, that S. John the Apostle,[z] who, althogh in Domitian's tyme he was banished in the Ile Pathmos; yet when Nerva his successor, and next before Trajan raigned, retourned to Ephesus, and so planted the churches, as the stories[3] report. Seinge therfore God's Woorde dothe approve it, antiquitie beareth witenes therof, and best reformed Churches have receyved the same, no man can reprove it, except he will contemne God's Worde, despice Antiquitie, and utterlie condemne the godlie reformed Churches.

y Epist. lib. 10.

z Eccle. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 22.

And there are no songes more meete then the Psalmes of the Prophet David, which the Holy Ghoste hath framed to the same use,[4] and commended to the Churche, as conteininge the effect of the whole Scriptures, that hereby our heartes might

hominum animis excitat; ita Deus optimus ac clementissimus Pater," &c.

[1] "Singing abused by the Papistes." —(*Ib.*)

[2] "Singing used in the Primative Churche, even in the Apostles time." —(*Marg. note, edit.* 1561.)

[3] In the edit. 1561, "histories."

[4] "What songs we ought to delite in and use."—(*Ib.*)

be more lyvelie touched, as appereth by Moses, Ezechias, Judith, Debora, Marie, Zacharie, and others,[a] who by songes and metre, rather then in their commune speache and prose, gave thankes to God for suche comfort as he sent them.

a Exo. 15. a. Esa. 38. c. Jud. 16. a. Jug. 5. a. Luk. 1. f. Luk. 1. c.

Here it were to longe to intreate of the metre; but for asmuche as the learned doubt not therof, and it is playnly proven that the Psalmes are not only metre, and conteyne juste Cesures, but also have grace and majestie in the verse more then any other places of the Scriptures, we nede not to enter into any probation. For they that are skilfull in the Hebrewe tounge,[b] by comparinge the Psalmes with the reste of the Scriptures, easelie may perceyve the metre. And to whome is it not knowen, how the Holy Ghoste by all means soght to helpe our memorie, when he facioned many Psalmes accordinge to the letters of the alphabet; so that every verse beginneth with the lettres therof in ordre. Sometimes A. beginneth the halfe verse, and B. the other halfe; and in an other place, thre verses, yea and eight verses with one letter, even the Psalme throughout; as if all men shulde be inflamed with the love therof, bothe for varietie of matter, and also briefenes, easines, and delectation.

b Reade Moses Chabib, in his bookes called, מרפא לשון דרכי נועם

Nowe, to make you privie also why we altered the ryme in certeyne places of hym,[2] whome for the gyftes that God had

[1] Instead of the words in the Hebrew title, as above, the edit. 1561 has, "Reade Moses Chabib, in his bookes called, 'Psalmes in metre in the Ebrue tonge.'"

[2] Thomas Sternholde, who was Groom of the Robes to Edward the Sixth, and who died in 1549. There had been at least four separate editions of the Psalms prior to this of 1556, which has a separate title-page as follows: "One and Fiftie Psalmes of David in Englishe metre, whereof 37 were made by Thomas Sternholde: and the rest by others. Conferred with the Hebrewe, and in certeyn places corrected as the text and sens of the Prophete required." Pp. 159. Besides these 37, there are 7 with the initials of Hopkins, "I. H.," viz. the 30, 33, 42, 52, 79, 82, and 146. The others, the 23, 51, 114, 115, 130, 133, 137, and the Commandments, are anonymous, but were translated by Whittingham, as appears from the subsequent and enlarged edition of "Four score and seven Psalmes of David," dated M.D.LXj.; and of the later impressions of the entire Psalter.

gevyn him, we estemed and reverenced, thys may suffice: that in this entreprise, we did onely set God before our eyes, and therfore wayed the wordes and sense of the Prophete, rather consideringe the meanyng therof then what any man had wrytt.[1] And chiefly beinge in this place, where as moste perfite and godly judgement dyd assure us, and exhortations to the same encorage us, we thoght it better to frame the ryme to the Hebrewe sense, then to bynde that sense to the Englishe meter: and so either altered for the better, in such places as he had not attayned unto, or els where he had escaped parte of the verse, or some tymes the whole, we added the same, not as men desyrous to finde fautes, but onely as suche which covvete to hyde theym, as the learned can judge.[2]

It remayneth last of all that you understande the reasons which movede us to chuse owte and followe this Catechisme of Geneva rather then any other;[3] for consyderinge that the true use of a Catechisme is to instruct a Christian fully in all pointes of belief and Christian religion; and wherein this is most easely, orderly, and perfitely taught, that to be the best; we coulde fynde none in so great a nombre which either for the facilitie is equall, or els for the perfection to be compared. Moreover, the daungers which hang over Christes Church in these dais moved us verie muche; for as men may see present signes of certaine barbarousnes, and puddells of errors whiche are lyke to chaunce in[4] the Churche of God, so there is no better preservation against the same, then if all godly Churches wolde agree in one kinde of doctrine and confession of faith, which in all points were agreable to God's holy Worde, that our posteritie might be confirmed, [c] by the universall example of Christes Churche against all heresies, persecutions, and other daungers;

[c] Psal. 89. a.

[1] In edit. 1561, "written."

[2] The whole of this paragraph, relating to the English metrical version of 51 Psalms subjoined to the edition 1556, is omitted, as inapplicable, in the "Ratio et Forma" of that date.

[3] "The cause for the whiche this Catechisme is to be preferred to others."—(*Marg. note, edit.* 1561.)

The Catechism referred to is that of Calvin. See *supra*, page 121.

[4] In the edit. 1561, "into."

percevinge that it is not onely the doctrine of one man, but the consent of the whole Christian Church, and that wherein all yowthe hathe bene broght up and trayned in. The which thinge, seinge none hath so farre performed, nor yet is in such towardnes to the same as this Catechisme is,[1] being for the worthines therof already translated into Hebrue, Greeke, Latin, Frenche, Italian, Spaynishe, Dutch,[2] and Englishe, we cowld do no lesse but willingly and gladly embrase the same.

Wherfore we beinge nowe under the same crosse of affliction that you our deare Brethern are, and yet altogether the children of God our mercifull Father through Jesus Christ, desire you, in his name, with judgement to reade our doings,[3] tryinge theym onely by the towchestone of his Worde, that either if they be founde fawtie, they may be rejected, or els if they be profitable, God may be glorifyed, his Churche edifyed, and the malicious confounded. Farewel, deare Bretherne, and let us all pray to our lovinge God, that he wold be mercifull unto us, restore his holy Woorde, comfort and strengthen his children, and finally confounde Satan, Antichrist, and all his enymies. At Geneva, the 10. of February, Anno 1556.[4]

[1] "It is translated allmost into all languages."—(*Mary. note, edit.* 1561.)

[2] Meaning the High Dutch, or German; the Latin version uses the word *Germanice.*

[3] "Judge oure doings by the Worde of God."—(*Marg. note, edit.* 1561.)

[4] In the edit. 1561, the date "Anno 1556," is omitted. The Latin version has, "Genevæ, Id. Februarii, Anno millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo sexto."

THE CONFESSION OF OUR FAITH, WHICH ARE ASSEMBLED IN THE ENGLISHE CONGREGATION AT GENEVA.[1]

I BELEVE IN GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY, MAKER OF HEAVEN AND EARTH;

I BELEVE[2] and confesse[a] my Lorde God eternal, infinite, unmeasurable, incomprehensible, and invisible,[b] one in substance,[c] and three in persone,[d] Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghoste, who, by his almightie power and wisdome,[e] hathe not onely of nothinge created heaven, earthe, and all thinges therein conteyned,[f] and man after his owne image,[g] that he might in hym be glorifiede;[h] but also by his fatherlye providence,[i] governeth, maynteyneth, and preserveth the same, accordinge to the purpose of his will.[k]

AND IN JESUS CHRISTE HIS ONELY SONNE, OUR LORD;

I BELEVE also and confesse Jesus Christe the onely Saviour and Messias,[a] who beinge equall with God,[b] made him self of no reputation, but tooke on him the shape of a servante, and became man in all thinges like unto us[c] (synne except) to assure us of mercie and forgivenes.[d] For when through our father Adam's transgression we were become childrene of perdition,[e] there was no meanes to bring us from that yoke of synne and damnation, but onely Jesus Christe our Lord:[f] who givinge us that by grace, which was his by nature,[g] made us (through faith) the childrene of God:[h] who when the fulnes of tyme was come,[i] was

a Rom. 10. b.
b Gen. 17. b. Psal 63. a. 139. a.
c Gen. 1. a. Ephe. 4. a.
d Gen. 1. d. 1 Jo. 3. b. Matt. 3. d. 28. d.
e Heb. 1. a. Prover. 8. c.
f Gen. 1. a. Jere. 32. b. Psal. 33. c.
g Gen. 1. d. Ephe. 4. c. Col. 3. b.
h 1 Cor. 6. d. John 17. a. Prover. 16. a.
i Matt. 6. d. Luc. 12. c. 1 Peter 5. c. Philip. 4. a.
k Ephe. 1. b.
a Matt. 1. d. Act. 4. b. 1 Tim. 1. d.
b Joh. 1. c. Philip. 2 a. 1 Tim. 3. d. 1 Joh. 5. d. Rom. 9. b.
c Hebr. 2. d. Philip. 2. b. 1 Peter 2. d. 1 Joh. 3. a.
d Rom. 8. f. g. 1 Joh. 2. a.
e Gen. 3. a. Rom. 5. d. Ephe. 1. a. Gal. 3. b.
f Act. 4. b. 1 Peter 2 a. Isaie 28. d. Rom. 9. g.
g Joh. 1. b. Hebr. 1. c. Rom. 1. a. Psal. 2. c.
h Gal. 3. d. Rom. 8. c. Joh. 1. d. Ephe. 1. a.
i Gal. 4. a. Act. 2. c.

[1] The title in the Latin version is simply CONFESSIO CHRISTIANÆ FIDEI. The Scriptural references in the margin are given, but not the Creed.

[2] In the Edinburgh edition of 1562, the whole of the marginal Scripture references to this Confession are omitted.

conceyved by the power of the Holy Ghoste,[k] borne of the Virgine Marie (accordinge to the fleshe), and preached in earthe the gospell of salvation,[l] tyll at lenght, by tyrannye of the priestes,[m] he was gilteles condemned under Pontius Pilate, then president of Jurie, and most slaunderously hanged on the crosse betwixte two theves as a notorious trespasser, where takinge upon hym the punishement of our synnes,[n] he delyvered us frome the curse of the Lawe.

WHICH WAS CONCEYVED BY THE HOLIE GHOST, BORNE OF THE VIRGINE MARIE, SUFFERED UNDER PONTIUS PILATE, WAS CRUCIFIEDE, DEADE, AND BURIED;

And forasmoche as he, beinge onely God, could not feele deathe, nether, beinge onely man, could overcome deathe, he joined bothe together, and suffred his humanitie to be punished with moste cruell death: felinge in him selfe the anger and severe judgement of God, even as if he had bene in the extreme tormentes of hell,[o] and therfore cryed with a lowde voice, "My God, my God, why haste thou forsaken me!"[p] Thus of his fre mercie,[q] without compulsion, he offred up him selfe as the onely sacrifice to purge the synnes of all the world, so that all other sacrifices for synne are blasphemous and derogate frome the sufficiencie herof. The which death, albeit it did sufficiently reconcile us to God;[r] yet the Scriptures commonly do attribute our regeneration to hys resurrection;[s] for as by rysinge agayn frome the grave the third day,[t] he conquered death:[u] evenso the victorie of our faith standeth in his resurrection, and therfore without the one, we can not fele the benefite of the other: For as by deathe, synne was taken awaye,[x] so our rightuousnes was restored by his resurrection.

HE DISCENDED INTO HELL;

THE THIRD DAIE HE ROSE AGAINE FROME DEATHE;

And because he wolde accomplishe all thinges,[y] and take possession for us in his kingdome, he ascended into heaven,[z] to enlarge that same kingdome by the aboundant power of his Spirite,[a] by whome we are moste assured of his contynuall intercession towardes God the Father for us.[b] And althoghe he be in heaven,[c] as towchinge his corporall pre-

HE ASCENDED INTO HEAVEN;

k [illegible]
l [illegible]
m [illegible]
n Gal. 3. b.
o Act. 2. d. 1 Peter 2 d. Isai. 53. c.
p Psal. 22. a. Matt. 27. c.
q Isa. 53. a. Hebr. 9. c. 10. c. Gal. 1. a. Rom. 4. d. 5. b. 1 Joh. 1. b.
r Col. 1. c.
s Rom. 10. b. 1 Peter 1. a.
t Matt. 28. b. Act. 10. f. 1 Cor. 15. c.
u Ose. 11. d. 1 Cor. 15. g. 2 Cor. 13. b.
x Rom. 4. d.
y Ephe. 4. b. Joh. 14. Ephe. 2. b.
z Mar. 16. d. Luk. 24. g. Act. 1. b. 1 Cor. 15. b.
a Luk. 24. g. Joh. 14. b. Act. 2. a.
b Rom. 8. g. Heb. 9. f. 1 Joh. 2. c.
c Act. 1. c. 3. c.

sence, where the Father hathe nowe set him on his right hand,[d] committinge unto him the administration of all things,[e] aswel in heaven above as in the earthe benethe; yet is he present with us his membres,[f] even to the ende of the world, in preservinge and governynge us with his effectuall power and grace, who (when all thinges are fulfilled which God hath spoken by the mowth of all hys prophets since the world began[g]) wyll come in the same visible forme in the which he ascended,[h] with an unspekable majestie, power, and companye, to separate the lambes frome the goates, th'electe from the reprobate,[i] so that none, whether he be alyve then or deade before, shall escape his judgement.[k]

AND SYTTETH AT THE RIGHT HAND OF GOD THE FATHER ALMYGHTIE,

FROME THENCE SHALL HE COME TO JUDGE THE QUICKE AND THE DEAD.

d Col. 3. a. Rom. 8. g. Heb. 1. a. 10 12.
e Ephe. 1. d. Philip. 2. b. Col. 2. c.
f Matt. 28. d.
g Act. 3. c.
h Act. 1. b.
i Matt. 25. c. Philip. 3. d.
k Matt. 24. c. Act. 10 f. 1 Cor. 15. c. 1 Thes. 4. 2 Thes. 1. 2 Tim. 4. 2.

I BELIEVE IN THE HOLIE GHOSTE; MOREOVER, I beleve and confesse the Holy Ghoste, God equall with the Father and the Sonne,[a] whoe regenerateth and sanctifieth us, ruleth and guideth us into all trueth, persuadinge moste assuredly in our consciences that we be the childrene of God,[b] bretherne to Jesus Christe, and fellowe heires with him of lyfe everlastinge. Yet notwithstandinge it is not sufficient to beleve that God is omnipotent and mercifull; that Christ hath made satisfaction; or, that the Holye Ghoste hath this power and effect, except we do applie the same benefites to our selves[c] which are God's elect.[d]

a Matt. 3. d. 1 Joh. 5. c. 1 Pet. 1 b. 1 Cor. 6. Joh. 16. d. Act. 17.
b Rom. 8. c. Gal. 4. a.
c Abac. 2. a. Rom. 1. b. 10. c. 1 Joh. 3. d.
d Joh. 17. a.

THE HOLIE CATHOLIKE CHURCHE; THE COMMUNION OF SAINCTES, I BELEVE therfore and confesse one holye Churche,[e] which (as members of Jesus Christe,[f] th'onely heade therof[g]) consent in faithe, hope, and charitie,[h] usinge the giftes of God, whether they be temporall or spirituall,[i] to the profite and furtherance of the same. Whiche Churche is not sene to man's eye, but onely knowen to God,[k] who of the loste sonnes of Adam, hath ordeyned some, as vessels of wrathe, to damnation, and hathe chosen others, as vessels of his mercie, to be saved;[l] the

e Matt. 16. c. Joh. 10 a. Ephe. 5. b. Rom. 8. Can 2.
f Ephe. 1. d. Col. 1. d. 1 Cor. 12. c.
g Ephe. 4. d.
h Ephe. 4. a. Philip. 3. d. Col. 2. a.
i Act. 2. g 4 g. Rom. 12. c. 1 Cor. 12. b. Ephe. 4. c.
k Rom. 3. a.
l Rom 9. c. Eph. 1. a. b.

whiche also, in due tyme, he callethe to integritie of lyfe and godly conversation, to make them a glorious church to him selfe.[m]

But that Churche which is visible, and sene to the eye,[n] hathe three tokens, or markes, wherby it may be discerned. First, the Worde of God conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament,[o] which as it is above the autoritie of the same churche,[p] and onely sufficient to instruct us in all thinges concernynge salvation,[q] so is it left for all degrees of men to reade and understand.[r] For without this Worde, neither churche, concile, or decree can establishe any point touching salvation.[s]

The second is the holy Sacrements,[t] to witt, of Baptisme and the Lordes Supper; which Sacramentes Christ hathe left unto us as holie signes and seales of God's promesses. For as by Baptisme once receyved, is signified that we (aswel infants as others of age and discretion) being straungers from God by originall synne,[u] are receyved into his familie and congregation, with full assurance, that althoghe this roote of synne lye hyd in us, yet to the electe it shal not be imputed.[x] So the Supper declareth, that God, as a most provident Father,[y] doth not onely fede our bodies, but also spiritually nourisheth our soules with the graces and benefites of Jesus Christ[z] (which the Scripture calleth eatinge of his flesh and drinkinge of his bloode); nether must we, in the administration of these sacraments, followe man's phantasie, but as Christ him self hath ordeyned so must they be ministred, and by suche as by ordinarie vocation are therunto called.[a] Therfor, whosoever reserveth and worshippeth these sacraments, or contrariwyse contemneth them in tyme and place, procureth to him self damnation.

The third marke of this Church is Ecclesiasticall discipline,[b] which standeth in admonition and correction of fautes. The finall ende wherof is excommunication, by the consent of the Churche determyned,[c] if the offender be obstinate. And

m Rom. 8. Eph. 5. c.
n Matt. 16. c. 1 Cor. 15. b.
o Matt. 28. d. Rom. 10. c. 2 Cor. 3. 4. Ephe. 2. d. Joh. 10. a. 2 Tim. 3. d. 2 Peter 1. d.
p Ephe. 2. d. Matt. 17. c. Joh. 10. a. b.
q Joh. 20. g. 2 Tim. 3. d.
r Jos. 1. b. Joh. 5. c.
s Ephe. 5. c. Matt. 15. b.
t Matt. 26. c. 28. f. Rom. 4. a. Ephe. 5. f.
u Rom. 5. b. Ephe. 2. a. Tit. 3. b. Gal. 3. c. Rom. 7. d.
x Rom. 4. a. Psal. 31. a.
y 1 Cor. 11. c.
z Joh. 6. d.
a Heb. 5. b. Joh. 3. d.
b Matt. 18. b. Luk. 17. a. Levi. 19. d. Eccles. 19. b.
c 1 Cor. 5. a.

esides this Ecclesiasticall censure, I acknowlage to belonge to
is church a politicall Magistrate,[d] who ministreth to every
an justice, defending the good and punishinge the evell; to
hom we must rendre honor and obedience in all thinges,
hich are not contrarie to the Word of God.[e]

And as Moses, Ezechias, Josias, and other godly rulers
rged the Church of God frome superstition and idolatrie,[f] so
ie defence of Christes Church apperteynith to the Christian
lagistrates, against all idolaters and heretikes, as Papistes,
nabaptistes, with such like limmes of Antechrist, to roote owte
ll doctrine of devels and men,[g] as the Masse, Purgatorie, *Lim-
us Patrum*, prayer to Sanctes, and for the Deade; freewyll, dis-
inction of meates, apparell, and days; vows of single life, pre-
ence at idoll service, man's merites, with suchlike, which drawe
s frome the societie of Christes Churche, wherein standeth onely

THE FORGIVENESS OF SYNNES,

remission of synnes,[h] purchased by Christes bloode to all them that beleve, whether they be Jewes Gentiles, and leade us to vayne confidence in creatures, and st in our owne imaginations. The punishement wherof, hogh God often tymes differreth in this lyfe,[i] yet after the

THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD.

generall resurrection,[k] when our sowles and bodies shall ryse agayne to immortalitie, they shall be damned to inquencheable fyer;[l] and then we h have forsaken all man's wisdome to cleave unto Christ, heare that joyfull voice, "Come, ye blessed of my Fa- inherite ye the kingdome prepared for you frome the ıyng of the world,"[m] and so shall go triumphing with him

THE EVER- N.

in bodye and soule,[n] to remayne everlasting in glorie, where we shall see God face to face,[o] and o more nede one to instructe an other; for we shall all him, from the hyghest to the loweste: To whome, withe ne and the Holy Ghost, be all praise, honor, and glorie, d ever. So be it.[l]

d Rom. 13. a. Wisdome 6. a. Tit. 3. a. 1 Peter 2. c.

e Act. 5. c.

f Exo. 32. f. 2 Kynge 18. 23 2 Chro. 29. 35.

g 2 Tim. 4. a. Col. 2. d. Matt. 15. b. Isa. 29. b. Heb. 9. c. 10. c. Act. 10. g. 1 Joh 2. a. Rom. 7. c. Gal. 5. c. Col. 2. c. Rom. 14. a. 1 Tim. 4. a. Matt. 19. b. 1 Cor. 7. b. 1 Cor. 8. c. 10. f. 2 Cor. 6. c. Luc. 17. c. Rom. 8. c. 1 Cor. 3. c. Gal. 4. b.

h Isa. 33. d. Matt. 18. c. Joh. 20. c. 2 Cor. 5. d. Rom. 1. b. 10. b. Ephe. 2. d.

i 2 Peter 2. a. Jude 1. Rom. 9.

k Act. 24. d. 1 Cor. 15. c. Philip. 3. d.

l 1 Thes. 4. d. 2 Thes. 4. d. 2 Joh. 1. c. Isa. 30. g. Joh. 5. c.

m Matt. 25. d.

n 2 The. 4. d. 5. d. Joh. 5. c. Isa. 26. d.

o 1 Cor. 13. d. 1 Joh. 3. a. Jere. 31. f. Hebr. 8. c.

Latin version, there follows ion of Sins, and Prayers, which occur in the English copy, *infra*, p. 179.

OF THE MINISTERS AND THEIR ELECTION.

What thinges are chiefely required in the Pastours and[1] *Ministers.*

FIRST, let the Churche diligently consider that the Minister which is to be chosen[a] be not founde culpable of any suche fautes which Saincte Paul reprehendeth in a man of that vocation,[b] but contrarywise endewed with suche vertues, that he may be able to undertake his charge, and diligently execute the same. Secondly, that he distribute faithfully the Word of God, and minister the sacraments sincerely,[c] ever carefull not onely to teache his flock publikly, but also privatly to admonisshe them;[d] remembring alwais, that if any thinge perysshe throughe his defaute, the Lorde will require it at his handes.[e]

a Act. 1. d. & 13. a. 14. f.

b 1 Timo. 3. a. 2 Tim. 2. b. 4. a. Eze. 33. a. Jere. 3. d. Joh. 21. c. Isa. 62. c. 1 Cor. 9. d.

c 2 Tim. 2. c. 3 Peter 4. e. Matt. 26. c. 28. d. 1 Cor 1. e.

d Act. 20. d. 2 Tim. 4. a.

e Eze. 3. d. 2. 1 Cor. 9. c.

Of their Office and Deutie.

BECAWSE the charge of the Word of God is of greater importaunce then that any man is able to dispence therwith;[a] and Saincte Paule exhorteth to esteme them as ministers of Christe, and disposers of God's mysteries;[b] not lordes or rulers, as S. Peter saith, over the flocke.[c] Therfore the pastor's or minister's chief office standeth in preaching the Worde of God, and ministring the sacraments.[d] So that in consultations, judgementes, elections, and other politicall affairs, his counsel,[e] rather then autoritie, taketh place.

And if so be the Congregation, uppon juste cawse, agreeth to excommunicate, then it belongeth to the minister, according to their general determination, to pronounce the sentence,[f] to the end that all thinges may be done orderly, and withoute confusion.[g]

a 1 Cor. 9. c. Act. 6. a. Luk. 12. c.

b 1 Cor. 4. a. 2 Cor. 4. b.

c 1 Peter 5. a. 2 Cor. 1. d. Matt. 20. d.

d Matt. 26. c. 28. d. Mala. 2. a. 1 Peter 4. c. Act. 3. c. & 16 f. 1 Cor 1. d. 15. a.

e Act. 20. e. f. 2 Cor. 4. b.

f 1 Cor. 5. b.

g 1 Cor. 14. g

[1] In the editions 1561 and 1562, the words "Pastours and," are omitted.

The Manner of Electinge the Pastors and Ministers.

THE Ministers and Elders at suche time as there wanteth a Minister, assemble the whole Congregation,[a] exhortinge them to advise and consider who may best serve in that rowme and office. And if there be choyse, the Churche appoynte two or thre, upon sume certayne day, to be examined by the Ministers and Elders.

a Act. 14. d. Tit. 1. b. Act. 1. d.

First, as towchyng their doctrine,[b] whether he that should be minister have good and sownde knowlage in the Holy Scriptures, and fitte and apte giftes to communicate the same to the edification of the people. For the triall wherof, they propose hym a theme or text to be treated privatly, wherby his habilitie may the more manifestlie appeare unto them.

b 1 Tim. 3. a. Tit. 1. b.

Secondly, they enquire of his life and conversation, if he have in times past lyved without slander,, and governed hym selfe in suche sorte, as the Worde of God hath not hearde evel, or bene slandered through his occasion.[c] Which being severallie done, they signifie unto the Congregation, whose giftes they fynde moste excellent and profitable for that ministerie. Appointing by a generall consent, eight daies at the leaste, that every man may diligently inquire of his life and manners.

c Rom. 2. d. Jam. 1. d. 1 Sam. 2 c. Tim. 5. d.

At the which tyme also, the minister exhorteth them to humble them selves to God by fasting and prayer,[d] that bothe their election may be agreable to his will, and also profitable to the Churche. And if in the meane season any thyng be brought agaynst hym wherby he may be fownde unworthy by lawfull probations, then is he dismissed and some other presented. If nothing be alleaged uppon some certayne day, one of the ministers, at the mornyng sermon, presenteth hym agayne to the Churche, framyng his sermon, or some parte therof, to the settyng forthe of his dewtie.

d Act. 13. a. & 14. d. Luc. 2. c.

Then at after none, the sermon ended, the minister exhortith them to the election, with the invocation of God's name,[e] directing his prayer as God shal move his herte. In like manner,

e 1 Cor. 10 g. Col. 3. c. Matt. 9. d.

We are not ignorante that the Scriptures make mention of a fourthe kynde of Ministers left to the Churche of Christe, which also are very profitable, where tyme and place dothe permit. But for lacke of opportunitie, in this oure dispersion and exile,[1] we can not well have the use therof; and wolde to God it were not neglected where better occasion serveth.

These Ministers are called Teachers or Doctors,[a] whose office is to instructe and teache the faithfull in sownde doctrine, providing with all diligence that the puritie of the Gospell be not corrupt, either through ignorance, or evill opinions. Notwithstandyng, considering the present state of thynges, we comprehend under this title suche meanes as God hathe in his Churche, that it shuld not be left desolate, nor yet his doctrine decaye for defaut of ministers therof. a Ephe. 4. c. 1 Cor. 12. d.

Therfore to terme it by a worde more usuall in these our dayes, we may call it th'Order of Schooles, wherin the highest degree, and moste annexed to the ministerie and governement of the Churche, is the exposition of Godes Worde, which is contayned in the Olde and Newe Testamentes.

But becawse menne cannot so well proffet in that knowledge, except they be first instructed in the tonges and humaine sciences, (for now God worketh not commonlie by miracles,) it is necessarie that seed be sowen for the tyme to come, to the intent that the Churche be not left barren and waste to our posteritie; and that Scholes also be erected, and Colledges mayntayned, with juste and sufficient stipendes, wherin youthe may be trayned in the knowledge and feare of God, that in their ripe age they may prove worthy members of our Lorde Jesus Christ, whether it be to rule in Civill policie, or to serve in the Spirituall ministerie, or els to lyve in godly reverence and subjection.

The Weekly Assemblie of the Ministers, [Elders, and Deacons.][2]

To the intent that the ministerie of Godes Woorde may be had in reverence, and not brought to contempt through the evill conversation of suche as are called therunto,[a] and also that fautes and vices may not by long sufferance growe at length to extreme inconveniences;[b] it is ordeyned that every Thurs- a Roma. 2. d. Ezech. 36. e. Isa. 52. b. b 2 Timo. 2. a.

[1] This sentence, as being inapplicable, was omitted in the edition of 1562, and all the subsequent editions.

[2] The words within brackets are supplied from the editions 1561 and 1562.

daye the ministers and elders, in their assemblie or Consistorie, diligentlie examine all suche fautes and suspicions as may be
b. espied,[c] not onelie amongest others, but chieflie amongest[1] theym selves, lest they seme to be culpable of that which our
a. Saviour Christ reproved in the Pharisies,[d] who coulde espie a
f. c. mote in an other man's eye, and could not see a beame in their owne.

And becawse the eye ought to be more cleare then the rest
c. of the bodie,[e] the minister may not be spotted with any vice,
c. but to the great slaunder of Godes Woorde, whose message he beareth: Therfore it is to be understand that there be certayne fautes, which if they be deprehended in a minister, he ought to be deposed; as heresie, papistrie, schisme, blasphemie, perjurie, fornication, thefte, dronkennes, usurie, fighting, unlawfull games, with suche like.

Others are more tollerable, if so be that after brotherlie admonition he amendith his faut: as strange and unprofitable fashon[2] in preaching the Scriptures; curiositie in sekyng vayne questions; negligence, aswell in his sermons, and in studying the Scriptures, as in all other thynges concerning his vocation; scurrilitie, flattering, lying, backbyting, wanton woordes, deceipt, covetousnes, tauntyng, dissolution in apparell, gesture, and other his doynges; which vices, as they be odious in all men, so in hym that ought to be as an example to others of
b. perfection,[f] in no wise are to be suffred; especially, if so be
g. 8. b. that, according to Godes rule, being brotherlie advertised,[g] he
a. d. acknowledge not his faut and amend.

Interpretation of the Scriptures.

Everie weeke once, the Congregation assemble to heare some
14. a. 5. d. 4. b. 12. d. place of the Scriptures orderly expounded.[a] At which tyme,

[1] In the edit. 1556, here and elsewhere, "emongest."

[2] In the edit. 1561 and 1562, "facion."

it is lawfull for every man to speake or enquire, as God shall move his harte, and the text minister occasion; so it be without pertinacitee or disdayne, as one that rather seketh to proffit then to contend. And if so be any contencion rise, then suche as are appointed moderatours, either satisfie the partie, or els if he seme to cavill, exhorte hym to kepe silence, referring the judgement therof to the ministers and elders, to be determined in their assemblie or Consistorie before mencioned.

When the Congregation is assembled at the houre appointed, the Minister useth one of these two Confessions, or lyke in effect,[1] exhorting the people diligently to examine them selves, following in their hartes the tenor of his wordes.[2]

A CONFESSION OF OUR SYNNES, FRAMED TO OUR TYME, OUT OF THE 9. CHAPTER OF DANIEL.

O LORD God, which arte mightie and dreadeful,[a] thou that kepest covenant, and shewest mercie to theym that love thee and do thy commaundementes.[b] We have synned, we have offended,[c] we have wickedly and stubburnely gone backe frome thy lawes and preceptes. We wolde never obey thy servantes the Prophetes that spake in thy name,[d] to our kinges and princes, to our forfathers, and to all the people of our lande. O Lord, rightuousnes belongeth unto thee,[e] unto us perteyneth nothing but open shame, as it ys come to passe this day unto our miserable contry of Englande; yea unto all our nations

a Nehem. 1. b, Job 9, 38, 39, 40. Psal. 24, 76, 77, 139.
b Exod. 20. a. Luk. 7. g.
c Gen. 3. b. Rom. 5. b. 1 Joh. 1. d. Psal. 32. c. & 106. a.
d Lev. 26. c. Deu. 28. b. Jere. 26. a. 29. b. Nehem. 1. c.
e Psa. 11. b. Jam. 4. d. Job 4. d. 9. a. 25. b.

[1] In the edit. 1562, "useth this Confession, or like in effect." See note page 181.

[2] In the Latin version 1556, this rubric is, "Quum primum in Ecclesiam hora constituta convenitur, Minister vel hanc ex Daniele confessionem, vel subsequentem, aut aliam saltem in hanc sententiam, clara voce pro concione recitat, singulos inter ea exhortans, ut intenta pectoris cogitatione, his auscultent ac ruminent, quæ ex se sunt audituri." (Then follows the title:) "Confessio quaedam ad Deum pro peccatis condonandis, temporibus accomodata, juxta illam Danielis formam, capite nono descriptam."

whether they be farre or nere, through all landes, wherein they are scattered for the offences that they and we have committed against thee,[f] so that the curses and ponishmentes which are wryten in thy lawe[g] are nowe powred upon us; and thou hast perfourmed those wordes wher with thou didest menace us and our rulers that governed us, in bringinge the same plagues upon us which before were threatened. And yet notwithstandinge, bothe they and we procede in our iniquitie, and cease not to heape synne upon synne. For they which once were well instructed in the doctrine of thy gospel, are nowe gone backe frome the obedience of thy trueth,[i] and are turned agayne to that moste abhominable idolatrie,[h] from the which they were once called by the lyvely preachinge of thy Worde. And we, alas! to this day, do not earnestly repent us of our former wickednes, neither do we rightly consider the heavynes of thy displeasure.[l] Suche is thy juste judgement, O Lord, that thou ponishes synne by synne, and man by his owne inventions,[k] so that there can be no ende of iniquitie, except thou prevent us[l] with thy undeserved grace.[m] Therfore convert us, O Lord, and we shalbe converted;[n] for we do not offer up our prayers trustinge in our owne rightuousnes,[o] but in thy manifolde mercies. And althoghe thou haste once of thy especial grace delivered us from the miserable thraldome of error and blindnes, and called us many tymes to the swet libertie of thy gospell,[p] which we notwithstandinge have moste shamefully abused, in obeinge rather our owne lustes and affections,[q] then the admonitions of thy Prophetes;[r] yet we beseche thee once agayne, for thy nam's sake,[s] to powre some comfortable droppe of thy accustomed mercies upon us; incline thyne eares, and open thyne eyes,[t] to beholde the grevous plagues of our contrie, the continuall sorrowes of our afflicted bretherne, and our wofull banishment.[2] And let our afflictions and juste ponishemente be an admonition and warninge to other nations amongest whome

f Psal. 89. c. Jer. 26 b. 27. a
g Lev. 26. c. Deu. 27, 28, 30.
h 2 Pet. 2. d. Prov. 26. b. Hebr. 6. a. 10. c.
i Psal. 19. d. Deu. 31. d. 29. d. Ezech. 5 b.
k Rom. 1. d.
l Esa. 63 d. Rom. 10 c.
m Eph. 2. a. b.
n Psal. 85 b. Jerem. 31. c.
o Titus 3. a. 2 Timoth. 1. b.
p Gal. 4, 5. a.
q Gal. 5. b. c.
r Zachar. 7. b.
s Psal. 23. a. 25. c.
t Psal. 71. a.

[1] How miserable it is to retorne to the olde vomitt.—(*Marg. note.*)

[2] Let all people take heede by our example.—(*Marg. note.*)

we are skattered, that with all reverence they may obey thy holy gospell; lest for like contempe, in the ende, like or wourse plagues fall upon theym.[u] Wherfore, O Lord, heare us! O Lord, forgive us! O Lord, consider and tary not over longe! but for thy deare Sonne Jesus Christe sake, be mercifull unto us, and delyver us.[x] So shall it be knowen to all the worlde, that thou onely arte the selfe same God, that ever sheweth mercie to all suche as call upon thy holy name.[y]

u Matt. 11. c. 12. d. Luk. 10. c.

x John 16. c.

y Psal. 103, 108. a. & 136. c.

An other Confession for all States and Tymes.[1]

O ETERNALL God and moste mercifull Father, we confesse and acknowlage here, before thy divine majestie, that we are miserable synners,[a] conceyved and borne in synne and iniquitie,[b] so that in us there is no goodnes.[c] For the fleshe evermore rebelleth against the spirite,[d] wherby we contynually transgresse thy holy preceptes and commaundementes, and so purchase to our selves, through thy juste judgement, death and damnation.[e]

a Rom. 3. c. Psal. 14. b.
b Psal. 51. a.
c Rom. 7. d.
d Gal. 5. c.
e Rom. 2 a. Jere. 3. g. Isa. 40. b.

Notwithstandinge, O heavenly Father, forasmoche as we are displeased with our selves for the synnes that we have committed against thee, and do unfeynedly repent us of the same, we moste humbly beseche thee, for Jesus Christes sake, to shewe thy mercie upon us, to forgive us all our synnes, and to increase thy Holy Spirite in us. That we acknowlaginge from the bottome of our hartes our owne unrightousnes,[f] may from hensforth not onely mortifie our sinfull lustes and affections, but also bringe forth suche fruites as may be agreable to thy moste blessed wyll; not for the worthynes therof, but for the merites of thy dearely beloved Sonne Jesus Christe,[g] our onely Savyour, whom thou hast already given an oblation and

f Col. 3. a. Rom. 6. a. Ephe. 4. c. 5. a. 1 Petr. 2. c.

g Rom. 3. a. Hebr. 9. d. Eph. 2. d.

[1] In the edit. 1561, the title is simply "for all Estates." In the edit. 1562, "The Confession of our Sinnes;" the previous Confession (pp. 179–181) being omitted in this place. It occurs, however, in a different part of the volume, but considerably altered.

offeringe for our synnes, and for whose sake we are certainly persuaded that thou wylt denye us nothinge that we shall aske in his name, accordinge to thy wyl.[h] For thy Spirite doth assure our consciences that thou arte our mercifull Father,[i] and so lovest us thy childrene through hym, that nothinge is able to remove thy heavenly grace and favor from us. To thee, therfore, O Father, with the Sonne and the Holy Ghoste, be all honor and glorye, worlde withowt ende. So be it.

h Joh. 14. b. 16. c. Matth. 7. b. Jam. 1. a.

i Jo. 3. d. Ro. 8. b. c. g.

This done, the people singe a Psalme all together, in a playne tune; which ended, the Minister[1] prayeth for th'assistance of God's Holy Spirite, as the same shall move his harte, and so procedeth to the Sermon. Usinge after the Sermon this Prayer followinge, or suche lyke.

A Prayer for the Whole Estate[2] of Christes Churche.

Almightie God and moste mercifull Father, we humbly submit our selves,[a] and fall downe before thy Majestie,[b] besechinge thee frome the botome of our hartes, that this seede of thy worde,[c] nowe sowen amongest us, may take suche depe roote, that neither the burninge heate of persecution cause it to wither, nether the thorny cares of this lyfe do choke it, but that as seede sowen in good grownde, it may bringe forth thirtie, sixtie, and an hundreth folde, as thy heavenly wisdome hathe appointed. And becawse we have nede continuallie to crave many thinges at thy handes, we humbly besoche thee, O heavenly Father, to graunt us thy Holy Spirite[d] to directe our peticions, that they may procede frome suche a fervent minde as may be agreable to thy moste blessed wyll.[e]

a 1 Pet. 5. b.
b Nom. 20. a. Deu. 9. c. Josu. 7. b.
c Mat. 13, a. b.
d Luk. 11. b. Rom. 8. c. Jam. 5. d. 1 Joh. 5. c. Rom. 12. c. Wisdome, 9. c.
e 2 Cor. 3. a. Jo. 15. a. Phil. 2. b.

And seinge that our infirmitie is hable to do nothinge without thy helpe, and that thou arte not ignorant with how many

[1] In the Latin version, 1556, "His ita actis, Minister se ad concionem parat," &c., the reference to singing a Psalm, being omitted.

[2] In the editions 1561 and 1562, "State."

and great temptations,[f] we poore wretches are on every side inclosed and compassed, let thy strenghe, O Lord, susteyne our weaknes, that we beinge defended with the force of thy grace, may be savely preserved against all assaultes of Satan, who goeth abowte continually like a roaringe lyon, sekinge to devoure us.[g] Encrease our faith,[h] O mercifull Father, that we do not swarve at any tyme frome thy heavenly worde, but augment in us hope and love, with a carefull kepinge of all thy commaundementes, that no hardnes of harte,[i] no hypocrisie, no concupiscence of the eyes,[k] nor intysementes of the worlde, do drawe us away frome thy obedience. And seinge we lyve nowe in these moste perillous tymes,[l] let thy Fatherly providence defende us against the violence of all our enemies, which do every where pursue us; but chiefely againste the wicked rage and furious uproares of that Romyshe idoll, enemie to thy Christe.[m]

f Psa. 40. c. 1 Pet. 1. a.
g 1 Peter 5. b.
h Luk. 17. a.
i Psal. 95, b. Hebr. 3, 4. c.
k 1 Joh. 2. c.
l 1 Tim. 4. a. 2 Peter 3. a. 2 Tim. 3. a. Jude a, b, c, d.
m 2 Thes. 2. a. 1 Joh. 2. c. Reve. 13. d. 17. d.

Fordermore,[1] forasmoche as by thy holy Apostle we be taught to make our prayers and supplications for all men,[n] we praye not onely for our selves here present, but beseche thee also, to reduce all suche as be yet ignorant, from the miserable captivitie of blindnes and error, to the pure understandinge and knowlage of thy heavenly trueth, that we all, with one consent and unitie of myndes,[o] may wourshippe thee our onely God and Saviour. And that all pastors, shepherds, and ministers, to whome thou hast committed the dispensation of thy holy Woord,[p] and charge of thy chosen people,[q] may both in their lyfe and doctrine be fownde faithfull, settinge onely before their eyes thy glorie; and that by theim, all poore shepe which wander and go astray, may be gathered and broght home to thy foulde.

n 1 Tim. 1. a.
o Rom. 15. b. 1 Cor. 1. b. Eccl. 3. c.
p Joh. 21. d. Matt. 28. d. 1 Cor. 9. c. Mark 16. d.
q 1 Peter 5. a.

Moreover, becawse the hartes of rulers are in thy hands,[r] we beseche thee to direct and governe the hartes of all kinges, princes, and magistrates to whome thou haste committed the sworde;[s] especially, O Lord, accordinge to our bonden dutie,

r Prover. 21. a.
s Rom. 13. b. Joh. 19. b.

[1] In the edit. 1561 and 1562, "Furthermore."

we beseche thee to mainteyne and increase the honorable estate of this citie,[1] into whose defense we are receyved, the magistrates, the counsell, and all the whole bodye of this common weale:[2] Let thy Fatherlye favor so preserve theym, and thy Holy Spirite so governe their hartes, that they may in suche sorte execute their office, that thy religion may be purely mainteyned, manners refourmed, and synne ponished accord-
1. a. 1. c. inge to the precise rule of thy holy Woord.[4]

And for that we be all members of the mysticall body of
12. d. 12. a. Christ Jesus,[u] we make our requestes unto thee, O heavenly Father, for all suche as are afflicted with any kinde of crosse or
6. c. tribulation,[x] as warre, plague, famine, sikenes, povertie, imprisonement, persecution, banishement, or any other kinde of thy
1. b. 13. a. roddes, whether it be[3] calamitie of bodie, or vexation of mynde,[y] that it wold please thee to gyve them pacience and constancie, tyll thou send them full deliverance of all their troubles. And[4] as we be bownde to love and honor our parentes, kinsfolkes,
20. b. friendes, and contrye,[z] so we moste humbly beseche thee to shewe thy pitie upon our miserable contrie of England,[5] which once, through thy mercie, was called to libertie, and now for

[1] For the prosperous estate of Geneva.—(*Marg. note.*)

[2] In the Latin version, 1556, "tum potissimum ut amplissimum hujus Urbis in qua fovemur, statum, illius Consules cum reliquo gravissimo Senatu, ac universo Reipublicæ ordine, ita conservet," &c.—In the edit. 1562, this Prayer for the city and magistrates of Geneva is thus altered:—"Especially, O Lord, according to our bounden dutie, we beseche thee to manteine and increase the noble estate of the Quenes Maiestie, and her honorable Counsel, with all the estates and whole body of the Communewealth. Let thy fatherlie favour so preserve her, and thine Holy Spirit so governe her heart, that she may in such sorte execute her office," &c. In the edit. 1561, this Prayer occurs as in the text; but in the additional leaves, when repeated, the words are, "the honourable estate of the Quenes Majesty, and all her most Noble Counsellors, and Magistrates, wyth all the spirituall Pastours and Ministers, and all the whole bodie of this Commounweale."

[3] In the edit. 1562, "whether it be grief of body, or unquietness of minde."

[4] This sentence is wholly omitted in the repetition of this Prayer in 1561, and in the Edinburgh edition of 1562. In the Latin version 1556, we have, "etiam atque etiam te comprecamur (omnium servator Deus) et Angliæ nostræ te miserescat, quæ sub acerbissimo, sed justissimo quidem flagello nunc tuo, laborat afflictissima."

[5] For England.—(*Marg. note.*)

their and our synnes, is broght unto moste vile slavery and Babylonicall bondage.

Roote owte from thence, O Lord, all raveninge wolves,[a] which to fyll their bellies destroie thy flocke.[b] And shewe thy great mercies upon those our bretherne which are persecuted, cast in prison, and dayly condemned to deathe for the testimonie of thy trueth.[c] And thogh they be utterly destitute of all man's ayde,[d] yet let thy swete comfort never departe from them, but so inflame their hartes with thy Holy Spirite, that thei may boldely and chearefully abide suche tryall[e] as thy godly wisdome shall appoint.[f] So that at lenght, aswell by their deathe as by their life,[g] the kingdome of thy deare Sonne Jesus Christ may increase and shyne through all the worlde. In whose name we make our humble peticions unto thee, as he hath taught us.

[a] Matt. 7. c. Act. 20. f.
[b] Ezech. 34. a. Rom. 16. c. Philip. 3. d.
[c] Heb. 13. d. Rom. 8. g. Psal. 43. d.
[d] Joh. 16. f.
[e] 1 Pet. 1. b.
[f] Act. 2. d. Matt. 10. d. Luk. 21. d.
[g] Rom. 14. b.

OUR Father which arte in heaven, &c.

ALMIGHTIE and ever lyvinge God, vouchsave, we beseche thee, to grant us perfite contynuance in thy lively faith, augmentinge the same in us dayly,[a] tyll we growe to the full measure of our perfection in Christ,[b] wherof we make our confession, sayinge,

[a] Luk. 17. b.
[b] Ephes. 4. a.

I BELEVE in God, &c.

Then the people singe a Psalme, which ended, the Minister pronounceth one of these blessinges, and so the Congregation departeth.[1]

THE Lord blesse you and save you;[a] the Lord make his face shyne upon you, and be mercifull unto you; the Lord turne his countenance towardes you, and graunt you his peace.

[a] Nom. a 6. d.

THE grace of our Lord Jesus Christ,[a] the love of God, and communion of the Holie Ghoste, be with you all. So be it.

[a] 2 Cor. 13. d

[1] In the Latin version 1556, "Demum post decantatum Psalmum, cum hujusmodi precatiuncula dimittitur coetus."

It shall not be necessarie for the Minister dayly to repete all these thinges before mentioned, but beginnynge with some maner of Confession, to procede to the Sermon; which ended, he either useth the prayer for all Estates before mentioned, or els prayeth, as the Spirite of God shall move his harte, framinge the same accordinge to the tyme and matter which he hath intreated of.[1] And yf there shalbe at any tyme any present plague, famine, pestilence, warre, or such like,[a] which be evident tokens of God's wrath; as it is our parte to acknowlage our synnes to be the occasion therof, so are we appointed by the Scriptures to give our selves to mournynge, fastinge, and prayer, as the meanes to turne awaye God's heavie displeasure. Therfore, it shalbe convenient that the Minister at suche tyme do not onely admonyshe the people therof, but also use some forme of prayer, accordinge as the present necessitie requireth, to the which he may appoint, by a common consent, some severall daye after the sermon, wekely to be observed.[2]

26. d. 28. b. ngs 8. d. ngs 24. c.

The Order of Baptisme.

First note, that for asmoche as it is not permitted by God's Woord, that Women should preache or minister the Sacraments:[a] And it is evident, that the Sacraments are not ordeined of God to be used in privat corners as charmes or sorceries,[3] but left to the Congregation, and necessarely annexed to God's Woord as seales of the same:[4] Therfore the infant which is to be baptised, shalbe broght to the churche, on the day appointed to

t. 11. f. m. 2. d. t. 28 d

[1] In the Latin version 1556: "Quam ubi absolverit, precatione, vel eadem hac quæ præcedit, vel alia quacunque propria, pro instinctu animi sui, uti licebit: quæ nec ab argumento concionis suæ, nec a temporis præsente opportunitate, admodum digrediatur."

[2] In the Edinburgh edition of 1562, certain Prayers are introduced in this place, with this note:

"¶ These Prayers that followe, are used in the French Church of Geneva; the first serveth for Sonday after the sermon, and the other that followeth is said upon Wednesday, which is the day of Commune Prayer." There is also "A forme of Prayers to be used in private houses everie morning and evening," &c. But all these will afterwards be introduced, according to the date of publication, instead of interpolating the original form of the Liturgy.

[3] The transgression of God's ordinance is called iniquitie and idolatrie, and is compared to witchcrafte and sorcerie. 1 Sam. 15. c.—(*Mary. note.*)

[4] How dangerous also it is to enterprise any thinge rashely, or without the warrant of God's Woorde, the examples of Saul, Oza, Ozias, Nadab, and Abiu, oght sufficiently to warne us. 1 Sam. 13. c.; 2 Sam. 6. b.; 2 Chro. 26. c.; Lev. 10. a.; Nom. 3. a.—(*Ib.*)

prayer and preachinge, accompanied with the father and god-
So that after the Sermon, the chyld beinge presented to the
r, he demaundeth this question:

›resent this childe to be baptised, earnestly desiring
ay be ingrafted in the mysticall body of Jesus Christ?
swer.—Yes, we require the same.

The Minister procedeth.

et us consider, dearly beloved, how Almyghtie God
›nely made us his children by adoption,[a] and received
ıe fellowship of his Churche; but also hath promised
ılbe our God, and the God of our children, unto the
generation.[b] Whych thinge, as he confirmed to his
the Olde Testament by the sacrament of Circumci-
hath he also renewed the same to us in his New Tes-
r the sacrament of Baptisme;[d] doing us therby to wyt,
nfantes apperteyne to him by covenaunt, and therfore
to be defrauded of those holy signes and badges
is children are knowen from Infidells and Pagans.[e]
r is it requisite, that all those that receyve this Sacra-
ve the use of understanding and faythe; but chiefelye
be conteyned under the name of God's people:[f] So
ission of synnes in the bloode of Christ Jesus, doth
e to them by God's promise. Which thing is most
›y Sainct Paul,[g] who pronounceth the children begot-
orne, either of the parents being faythful, to be cleane
. Also our Saviour Christ admitteth children to his
imbrasing and blessinge them. Which testimonies
›ly Ghoste assure us, that infants be of the number of
›ple; and that remission of synnes doth also apper-
theim in Christ. Therfore, wythout injurie, they can-
lebarred from the common signe of God's children.
ret is this owteward action of suche necessitie, that
therof shuld be prejudiciall to their salvation,[i] yf that
l by death, thei may not conveniently be presented to

a Rom. 8. c. Gal. 4. a. Ephe. 1. a. 2. c.
b Gen. 17. a. Exod. 20. a. Deu. 7. b. Esa. 59. d.
c Gen. 17. b. Rom. 4. b.
d Col. 2. c. Gal. 3. d. Act. 2. f.
e Act. 10. g.
f Act. 2. 1 Cor. 7. c.
g 1 Cor. 7 c.
h Mar. 10. b. Mat. 19. b. Luk. 18. c. Psal. 22. d.
i Rom. 4. b. Gal. 3. a. Jam. 2. d. Gen. 15 b. 17. b.

the church. But we (havinge respect to that obedience which Christians owe to the voice and ordinance of Christ Jesus, who commanded to preache and baptise all[k] wythout exception,) do judge theym onely unworthy of any felowship with him, who contemptuosly refuse suche ordinary meanes as his wisdome hath appointed to the instruction of our dull senses.

Mark. 16. b. Matt. 28. d.

Furthermore, it is evident that Baptisme was ordeined to be ministred in the element of water,[1] to teache us, that lyke as water outwardly dothe washe away the fylthe of the bodye, so inwardly dothe the vertue of Christ's blood purge our sowles from that corruption and deadly poyson wherwith by nature we were infected.[m] Whose venemous dreggs,[n] althogh they continewe in this our flesh, yet by the merits of his deathe are not imputed unto us,[o] by cause the justice of Jesus Christ is made ours by baptisme.[p] Not that we thinke any suche vertue or power to be included in the visible water or owtward action, (for many have bene baptised, and yet never inwardly purged,[1]) but that our Saviour Christ, who commanded baptisme to be ministred, will, by the power of his Holy Spirite, effectually worke in the harts of his elect[q] (in tyme convenient) all that is ment and sygnified by the same. And this the Scripture calleth our regeneration,[r] which standeth chiefli in these two points,[2] in mortification, that is to say, a resisting of the rebellious lustes of the fleshe, and in newnes of lyffe, wherby we continually stryve to walke in that purenes and perfection wherwith we are cladd in Baptisme.

Matt. 3. c. 1 Peter 3. d. 1 Joh. 5. b. 1 Cor. 10. a.

Eph. 2. a. Rom. 7.

Rom. 4. a. Gal. 3. a. Psal. 32. a. Rom. 6. a. Gal. 3. d.

Act. 2. g. 13. g.

Eph. 3. a. 1 Cor. 12. b. Rom. 6. a. Coll. 2. b.

And althogh we in the journey of this lyffe be incumbred wyth many ennemies,[s] which in the way assayle us, yet fyght we not wyth out fruite. For this continuall battaill which we fight against synne, deathe, and hell,[t] is a most infallible argument, that God the Father, mindfull of his promise made unto us in Christ Iesu, doth not only gyve us motions and

1 Peter 5. b. Luk. 22. d. Job 7.

Rom. 6. a. 1 Peter 1. a. Jam. 1. a. Ephe. 6. b.

[1] As Judas, Simon Magus, Hymeneus, Alexander, Philetus.—(*Marg. note.*)

[2] The fruit of Baptisme standeth in two points, mortification and regeneration.—(*Ib.*)

courage to resist theim, but also assurance to overcome and obteine victorie.[u]

Wherfore, dearly beloved, it is not only of necessitie that we be once baptised, but also it moch profiteth oft to be present at the ministration therof; that we beinge putt in minde of the league and covenant made betwxit God and us,[x] that he wilbe our God, and we his people, he our Father, and we his children,[y] may have occasion as wel to trye our lives past as our present conversation, and to prove our selves, whether we stand fast in the faithe of God's elect, or contrariwise have strayed from him through incredulitie and ungodly lyvinge;[z] wherof if our consciences do accuse us, yet by hearing the loving promises of our heavenly Father, (who calleth all men to mercie by repentance,[a]) we may from hensforthe walke more warely in our vocation.

Moreover, ye that be fathers and mothers may take hereby moste singular comfort, to se your children thus receyved in to the bosome of Christes congregation, wherby you are daily admonished that ye norishe and bring up the children of God's favor and mercye, over whom his fatherly providence watcheth continually.[b] Which thing, as it ought greatly to rejoyse you, (knowing that nothing can chaunce unto them wythout his good pleasure,[c]) so ought it to make you diligent and carefull to nurture and instruct them in the true knowledge and feare of God.[d] Wherin if you be negligent, ye do not only injurie to your own children,[e] hydinge from them the good will and pleasure of Almyghtie God their Father, but also heape damnation upon your selves, in sufferinge his children, boght wyth the bloode of his deare Sonne, so trayterously (for lack of knowledge) to turne backe from him.[1] Therfore it is your duety, with all diligence, to provide that your children, in tyme convenient, be instructed in all doctrine necessarie for a true Christian,[f] chiefely that they be taught to rest upon the justice of Christ Jesus

u 1 Cor. 15. g. Osee 13. d. Heb. 2. d. Job 16. d.

x Deut. 6. a. Josue 1. b.

y Jere. 31. f. Hebr. 8. c.

z Ephe. 4. e. Col. 3. b. Heb. 1. b.

a Ezech. 18. Act. 11. c. 33 2 Peter 3. b Deu. 4. d. 6. a.

b Matt. 18. b.

c Matt. 6. d. Luc. 12. a.

d Deu. 4. b. 6. a. 11. c. Ephe. 6. a.

e 1 Sam. 2. f 4 King. 2 d.

f Gen. 18. c. Deut. 32 g.

[1] What danger hangeth over those parents, which neglect the bringing up their children in godlines.—(*Mary. note.*)

alone,[1] and to abhorre and flee all superstition, Papistrie, and idolatrie. Finally, to the intent that we may be assured, that you the father and the suretie consent to the perfourmance hereof, declare here before God and the face of his congregation, the somme of that faith wherein you beleve, and will instruct this childe.

Then the Father, or in his absence the God-father, shal rehearse the Articles of his faithe; which doone, the Minister exhorting the people to praye, sayeth in this manner, or such like, keeling:[2]

ALMIGHTIE and everlasting God, which of thy infinite mercie and goodnes hast promised unto us that thow wilt not only be our God, but also the God and Father of our children: we beseche thee, that as thou hast vouchesaved to call us to be partakers of this thy great mercie in the felowshipe of faithe,[a] so it may please thee to sanctifie with thy Sprite,[b] and to receive in to the number of thy children this infant, whom we shall baptise according to thy Woord,[c] to the end that he comming to perfite age, may confesse thee only the true God,[d] and whome thow hast sent Jesus Christ, and so serve him, and be profitable unto his churche in the whole course of his life;[e] that after this life be ended, he may be broght as a lyvely member of his body unto the full fruition of thy joyes in the heavens,[f] where thy Sonne our Christ raigneth, world wythout end. In whose name we pray as he hathe taught us:

Our Father, &c.

a Gal. 3. d. 1 Peter 1. a. Phil. 3. c.
b Rom. 3. d. 4. c. 2 Cor. 5. d. Rom. 8. c. Ephe. 2. d. 3. b.
c Matt. 28. d. Mar. 16. c. Act. 2. f.
d Rom. 10. b. John 17. a.
e Rom. 12. b. 1 Cor. 12. a. 2 Thes. 5. c.
f 1 Cor. 2. e. Rom. 6. d. Tit. 3. b.

When they have prayed in this sort, the Minister requireth the child's name, which knowen, he saith:

N., I baptise thee in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghoste.[a]

a Matt. 28. d. Mark 16. c. Act. 2 f.

[1] The true use of the Catechisme, to the execution wherof the fathers and godfathers bind theim selves.— (*Mary. note.*)

[2] In the edition 1562, the word "kneeling," is omitted.

And as he speaketh these words, he taketh water in his hand and layeth it upon the childes forehead: which done, he giveth thanckes as followeth:

FORASMOCHE, most holy and mercifull Father, as thow doest not only beawtifie and blesse us wyth common benefits, like unto the rest of mankinde, but also heapest upon us moste abundantly rare and wonderfull gyftes;[a] of dutye we lyft up our eyes and mindes unto thee, and gyve thee most humble thankes for thy infinite goodnes, which haste not only nombred us emongest thy sainctes,[b] but also of thy free mercie doest call our children unto thee, markinge theim wyth thys Sacrament as a singuler token and badge of thy love. Wherfore moste loving Father, thogh we be not able to deserve this so greate a benefite, (yea, if thow wouldest handle us according to our merits,[c] we shuld suffer the punishement of eternall deathe and damnation,) yet for Christes sake we beseche thee, that thou wilt confirme this thy favor more and more towards us, and take this infant into thy tuition and defence, whom we offer and present unto thee wyth common supplications, and never suffer him to fall to such unkindes, wherby he shuld lose the force of this baptisme,[d] but that he may perceyve thee continually to be his mercifull Father, throgh thy Holy Spirite working in his hart, by whose divine power he may so prevayle against Satan, that in the end, obteyning the victorie, he may be exalted into the libertie of thy kingdome.

a Ephe. 2. b. a. 1 Peter 2. b. Osee 2. d. 2 Pet. 2. d.

b 1 Peter 2. b. Ephe. 2. d.

c Rom. 2. a. Jere. 3. g. Isa. 40. b. Luk. 17. c.

d 2 Cor. 6 d.

THE MANER OF THE LORDES SUPPER.

The day when the Lordes Supper is ministered, which commonlye is used once a monthe, or so oft as the Congregation shall thinke expedient, the Minister useth to saye as followeth:

LET us marke, deare Bretherne, and consider how Jesus Christ did ordayne unto us his Holy Supper, according as S. Paule

maketh rehearsall in the 11. chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians:

"I have," saith he, "receyved of the Lorde that which I have delivered unto you, (to witt,) that the Lorde Jesus, the same night he was betrayed, toke breade, and when he had geven thankes, he brake it, sayinge, Take ye, eate ye, this is my bodie which is broken for you; doo you this in remembrance of me. Likewise after supper, he toke the cuppe, sayinge, This cuppe is the newe Testament or covenant in my bloude, doo ye this so ofte as ye shall drinke therof, in remembrance of me. For so ofte as you shal eate this bread and drinke of this cuppe, ye shall declare the Lordes deathe untill his comminge. Therfore, whosoever shall eate this bread, and drinke the cuppe of the Lorde unworthelye, he shalbe giltie of the bodye and bloud of the Lord. Then see that every man prove and trye hym selfe, and so let hym eate of this bread and drinke of this cuppe; for whosoever eateth or drinketh unworthelye, he eateth and drinketh his owne damnation, for not havinge due regarde and consideration of the Lordes bodye."

This done, the Minister proceadeth to the exhortation.

DEARELY beloved in the Lorde, forasmoch as we be nowe assembled to celebrate the holy Communion of the body and bloud of our Saviour Christ, let us consider these woordes of S. Paule, how he exhorteth all persons diligently to trye and examine them selves before they presume to eate of that bread and drinke of that cuppe. For as the benefite ys great, if with a truly penitent hart and lively faith we receyve that holy sacrament, (for then we spiritually eate the fleshe of Christ and drinke his bloude,[a] then we dwell in Christ and Christ in us, we be one with Christ and Christ with us,) so is the daunger great if we receyve the same unworthely, for then we be giltie of the bodye and bloud of Christ our Saviour, we eate and drinke our own damnation, not considering the Lordes bodye;

[a] oh. 6. g.

we kindle Godes wrath against us, and provoke him to plague us with diverse diseases and sundry kindes of death.

Therfore if any of you be a blasphemer of God,[b] an hinderer or slaunderer of his Worde, an adulterer, or be in malice or envie, or in any other grevous cryme, bewaylle your synnes, and come not to this holy Table, lest after the takynge of this holy sacrament, the Divell entre into you as he entred into Judas,[c] and fill you full of all iniquities, and bring you to destruction bothe of bodye and soule.

b Gal. 5. d.

c Joan 13 d.

Judge therfore your selves, Bretherne, that ye be not judged of the Lord; repent you truly for your synnes paste,[d] and have a lyvely and stedfast fayth in Christ our Saviour, sekinge onely your[1] salvation in the merites of his death and passion,[e] from hensforth refusinge and forgettinge all malice and debate,[f] with full purpose to live in brotherly amytie and godlye conversation all the dais of your lyfe.

d Matth. 3. c. Titus 2. c.

e Act. 4. c. Gal. 1. d.

f 1 Pet. 2. a. 1 Cor. 14. d. Ephe. 4. a. d.

And albeit we fele in ourselves muche frailtie and wretchednes, as that we have not our faith so perfite and constant as we ought, being many tymes readye to distruste[2] Godes goodness through our corrupt nature,[g] and also that we are not so throughlye geven to serve God, neyther have so fervent a zeale to set forth his glory as our duetye requireth, felinge still such rebellion in our selves, that we have nede dayly to fight against the lustes of our fleshe;[h] yet, nevertheles, seing that our Lorde hath dealed thus mercifully with us, that he hath printed his Gospell in our hartes,[i] so that we are preserved from falling into desperation and misbeliefe; and seing also he hath indued us with a will and desire to renownce and withstand our own affections,[k] with a longing for his righteousenes and the keping of his commaundementes, we may be now right well assured, that those defautes and manifolde imperfections in us, shalbe no hinderance at all against us, to cause him not to accept and impute us as worthie to come to his spirituall Table. For the ende of our comming thyther is not to make protestation that we are

g Rom. 7. d.

h Gala. 5. c.

i Heb. 8. d. Jere. 31. f. Isa. 59. d.

k Rom. 7. c. d. Phil. 1. a. 2 Cor.

[1] In edit. 1561, erroneously "our."

[2] Ib. "instructe."

upright and juste in our lives,[1] but contrariwise, we come to seke our life and perfection in Jesus Christ, acknowledging in the meane tyme, that we of our selves be the children of wrath and damnation.[m]

m Ephes. 2. a. Luk. 18. c.

Let us consider, then, that this Sacrament is a singuler medicine for all poore sicke creatures, a comfortable helpe to weake soules, and that our Lord requireth no other worthines on our parte, but that we unfaynedly acknowlege our noghtines and imperfection. Then to the end that we may be worthy partakers of his merites and moste comfortable benefits, (which ys the true eatinge of his fleshe, and drinkinge of his bloud,[n]) let us not suffer our mindes to wander aboute the consideration of these earthlie and corruptible thynges (which we see present to our eies, and fele with our handes,) to seeke Christ bodely presente in them, as if he were inclosed in the breade or wyne, or as yf these elementes were tourned and chaunged into the substaunce of his fleshe and blood.[1] For the only waye to dispose our soules to receive norishment, reliefe, and quickening of his substance, is to lift up our mindes by fayth above all thinges worldlye and sensible, and therby to entre into heaven, that we may finde and receive Christ,[2] where he dwelleth undoutedlye verie God and verie man,[o] in the incomprehensible glorie of his Father, to whome be all praise, honor, and glory, now and ever. Amen.

n Joan. 6 f.

o 1 Timo. 6. d.

The Exhortation ended, the Minister commeth doune from the pulpet, and sitteth at the Table, every man and woman in likewise takinge their place as occasion best serveth: then he taketh bread, and geveth thankes,[a] either in these woordes followinge, or like in effect:

a Math. 26. c. Mark 14. c. Luke 22. b. 1 Cor. 12. c.

O FATHER of mercye, and God of all consolation, seinge all creatures do knowlege and confesse thee as Gouverner and Lorde,[a]

a Apoc. 5. c.

[1] "Transsubstantiation, Transelementation, Transmutation, and Transformation, as the Papistes use them, are the doctrine of divells."—(*Marg. note.*) The marginal notes also occur in the editions of 1561 and 1562.

[2] "The true eatyng of Christ in the sacrament."—(*Ib.*)

it becommeth us, the workemanship of thyne own handes, at all tymes to reverence and magnifie thy Godly Majestie: first, for that thou haste created us to thyne own image and similitude;[b] but chieflye that thou haste[1] delivered us from that everlasting death and damnation,[c] into the which Satan drewe mankinde by the meane of synne, from the bondage wherof, neither man nor angell was able to make us free;[d] but thou, O Lord, riche in mercie and infinite in goodnes, haste provided our redemption to stande in thy onely and welbeloved Sone, whom of verie love thou didest give to be made man,[e] lyke unto us in all thynges,[f] (synne except[g]) that in his bodye he myght receive the ponishmentes of our transgression,[h] by his death to make satisfaction to thy justice,[i] and by his resurrection to destroye hym that was auctor[2] of death;[k] and so to reduce and bring agayne life to the world,[l] frome which the whole offspringe of Adame moste justly was exiled.[m]

b Gen. 1. d.
c Ephe. 2. b. Gala. 1. a. Gen. 3. c.
d Act. 4. c. Heb. 1. d. Apoc. 5. a.
e Joan. 3. c.
f Hebr. 8. d.
g Heb. 4. d. 7. d.
h 1 Peter 2. d. Isa. 43. d. 53. a.
i Matt. 3. d. 17. a. Hier. 31. f. Heb. 8. d. Rom. 5. a.
k Hebr. 2. d.
l John 6. e.
m Gene. 3. d. Rom. 5. b.

O Lord, we acknowlege that no creature ys able to comprehende the length and breadthe, the depenes and height, of that thy most excellent love,[n] which moved thee to shewe mercie where none was deserved;[o] to promise and give life where death had gotten victorie;[p] to receve us into thy grace when we could do nothyng but rebell against thy justice.[q] O Lord, the blynde dulnes of our corrupt nature will not suffer us sufficiently to waye these thy moste ample benefites;[r] yet, nevertheles, at the commaundement of Jesus Christ our Lorde,[s] we present our selves to this his Table, (which he hath left to be used in remembrance of his death untyll hys comming agayne,[t]) to declare and witnes before the world that by him alone we have receved libertie and life;[u] that by hym alone thou doest acknowledge us thy children and heires;[x] that by hym alone we have entrance to the throne of thy grace;[y] that by hym alone we are possessed in our spirituall kingedome,[z] to eate and drinke at his Table;[a] with whome we have our conversation presently in heaven;[b] and by whome our

n Ephe. 3. c.
o Ephe. 2. b.
p Joan. 6. d. 17. a.
q Eph. 2. b. Gene. 6. b. Rom. 3. b. Isa. 64. b. Psal. 5. b. 14. a. Rom. 7. c.
r Math. 16. c. 1 Cor. 2. d. Luk. 11. c. Math. 10.
s Math. 26. b. c. Luk. 22. b.
t 1 Cor. 11. c.
u Joan. 8. d. Gala. 5. c.
x Rom. 8. d. 1 Peter 1. b. Ephe. 1. d.
y Ephe. 2. d. Heb. 4. c. Rom. 8.
z Math. 25. a. Joan. 14. a. Luk. 12. d.
a Luk. 22. b. Apoc. 2. a.
b Philp. 3. d. Ephe. 2. b.

[1] In edit. 1561, "because thou hast." [2] Ib. "author."

bodies[1] shalbe reysed up agayne frome the dust, and shalbe placed with him in that endles joye, which thow, O Father of mercye, hast prepared for thyne elect, before the foundation of the world was layde.[c] And these moste inestimable benefites, we acknowlege and confesse to have receaved of thy free mercie and grace, by thy onely beloved Sonne Jesus Christ:[d] for the which therefore, we thy Congregation, moved by thy Holy Sprite,[e] render thee all thankes, prayse, and glorie, for ever and ever.

c Ephe. 1. b. Apoc. 13. b.

d Rom. 3. c. Ephe. 2. b. Titus 3. b.

e Rom. 8. d.

This done, the Minister breaketh the breade, and delyvereth it to the people,[a] who distribute and devide the same amongst theim selves,[b] accordinge to our Saviour Christes commandement, and in likewise geveth the cuppe.[c] Duringe the which tyme, some place of the Scriptures is read, which doth lyvely set forth the death of Christ, to the intente that our eyes and senses may not onely be occupied in these outwarde signes of bread and wyne, which are called the visible woorde; but that our hartes and myndes also may be fully fixed in the contemplation of the Lordes death, which is by this holy Sacrament representede.[2] And after the action is done, he geveth thanckes, saying:

a Matth. 26. c. Mark 14. c.

b Luke 22. b. 1 Cor. 10 d.

c 1 Cor. 11. c. John 13. 14.

MOSTE mercifull Father, we render to thee all prayse, thankes, and glorie, for that thou hast vouchsafed to graunt unto us miserable sinners so excellent a gifte and threasor,[3] as to receave us into the felowship and company of thy deare Sonne Jesus Christ our Lorde;[a] whome thou deliveredst to death for us,[b] and haste given hym unto us as a necessarie foode and norishment unto everlastynge life.[c]

a 1 Cor. 10. d.

b Rom. 4. d.

c Joan 6. f.

And now we beseche thee also, O heavenly Father, to graunt us this request; that thou never suffer us to become so unkinde as to forget so worthy benefittes; but rather imprint and fasten them sure in our hartes, that we may growe and increase dayly more and more in true faithe,[d] which continually ys excersised in all maner of goode workes;[e] and so moche

d Luke 17. b.

e Gala. 5. b.

[1] In edit. 1561, "our body;" in the edit. 1562, "our bodies."

[2] In the Latin version 1556, "quam hoc Sacramentum nobis graphice delineat."

[3] In the edit. 1561, &c., "treasure."

the rather, O Lord, confirme us in these perilous daies and rages of Satan,[f] that we may constantly stande and continewe in the confession of the same to the advancement of thy glorye,[g] which art God over all things blessed for ever. So be it.

[f] Timo. 4. a. Ephe. 5. d. 2 Peter 3. a.
[g] Matth. 5. b. 1 Peter 2. b.

The action thus ended, the people singe the 103 Psalm, "My soule, give laude,"[1] &c., or some other of thancks givynge: which ended, one of the blessings before mencionede is recitede, and so they ryse from the Table, and departe.[2]

To the Reader.[3]

If parchaunce any wolde marvell[4] why we followe rather this Order than any other in the administration of this Sacrament, let him diligently consider, that,[5] first of all, we utterly renownce the error of the Papistes; secondly, we restore unto the sacramentes theyr owne substaunce,[6] and to Christe his proper place. And as for the wordes of the Lordes Supper, we rehearce theym not bicawse they shuld chaunge the substaunce of the bread or wyne, or that the repeticion therof, with the intent of the sacrificer, should make the Sacrament (as the Papistes falselie beleve, but they are read and pronownced, to teache us how to behave our selves in this action, and that Christe might witnes unto our faithe, as it were with his owne mowthe, that he hath ordayned these signes for our spirituall use and comforte. Wee do first, therefore, examyne our selves, accordyng to Saint Paul's rule, and prepare our myndes that we may be worthie partakers of so high mysteries. Then takyng bread, wee geve thankes, breake, and distribute it,[a] as Christe our Saviour hath taught us. Fynally, the ministration ended, we gyve thankes agayne, accordyng to his example. So that without his woorde and warrante, there is nothyng in this holy action attempted.[7]

[a] Mat. 26. c. 1 Cor. 11. c. Luk. 22. b.

[1] This refers to Sternhold's version of the 103d Psalm, which is subjoined to the 1556 edition of the "Forme of Prayers," &c.

[2] In the Latin version 1556, "His ad finem perductis, accinitur ab universo coetu, modestissimo concentu, Psal. 103 *Benedic.*, &c., aut alius aliquis ejusdem momenti."

[3] Ib. "Lectori Candido."

[4] In the Edinburgh edition 1562, "If so be that any wolde marvel."

[5] "Why this Order is observed, rather than any other."—(*Marg. note, in edit.* 1561 *and* 1562.)

[6] In the edit. 1562, "unto the Sacrament his owne substance."

[7] "Nothing attempted herein without the expresse worde or example of Christ."—(*Marg. note, in edit.* 1561 *and* 1562.)

THE FORME OF MARIAGE.[1]

After the banes or contracte hathe byn publiished thre severall dayes in the Congregation,[2] (to the intent that if any person have intereste or title to either of the parties, they may have sufficient tyme to make theyr chalenge,) the parties assemble at the begynning of the sermon, and the Minister, at tyme convenient, saythe as followeth :

OF MARIAGE.

The Exhortation.

DEARLIE beloved Bretherne, we are here gathered together in the sight of God, and in the face of his Congregation, to knytt and joyne these parties together in the honorable estate of Matrimony,[a] which was instituted and auctorised by God hym selff in Paradise,[b] man beyng then in the state of innocencie. For what tyme God made heaven and earth, and all that *is* in theym, and had created and fasshoned man also after his owne similitude and likenes, unto whome he gave rule and lordship over all the beastes of the earth, fisshes of the sea, and fowles of the ayre; he said, It is not good that man lyve alone; let us make hym an helper like unto hym selff. And God brought a faste sleape uppon hym, and toke one of his ribbes and shaped Eva[3] therof; doying us therby to understand, that man and wife[4] are one body, one flesshe, and one blood. Signifyinge also unto us the mysticall union that is betwixt Christe and his Churche;[c] for the which cawse man leaveth his father and mother and taketh hym to his wife,[d] to kepe company with her; the which also he ought to love, even as owr Saviour loveth his

a Heb. 13. a.

b Gene. 2. d. Prov. 18. d.

c Ephe. 5. g.

d Gen. 2. d. Mat. 19. a. Mark 10. a. 2 Cor. 6. d.

[1] In the Latin version 1556, "Ratio Instituendi Matrimonii."

[2] Ib. "Primum publicatio matrimonii semel, bis ac iterum per Ministrum in frequentia totius Ecclesiæ divulgatur, diversis temporum vicibus."

[3] "Heva," in edit. 1561 and 1562, as well as in the Latin version.

[4] "In Hebrewe, Man is called Isch, and the Woman Ischa; wherby is wel expressed the natural affinitie betwixt Man and his Wife."—(*Marg. note.*)

Churche, that is to say, his electe and faithfull congregation,[e] for the which he gave his liffe.

e John 17. b. Rom. 5. a. Hebr. 9. d. 1 Peter 3. d.

And semblably also, it is the wives dewtie to studie to please and obey her howsband,[f] servyng hym in all thynges that be godly and honeste; for she is in subjection, and under the governance of her howsband, so long as they contynew bothe alyve.[g] And this holie mariage, beyng a thynge most honorable, is of suche vertue and force, that therby the howsband hathe no more right or power over his own bodie, but the wyfe; and likewyse the wyfe hathe no power over her own body, but the howsband;[h] forasmoche as God hathe so knytt theym together in this mutuall societie to the procreation of children, that they should bryng theym up in the feare of the Lorde, and to the increase of Christes kyngdome.[i]

f Ephe. 5. e. Col. 3. c. 1 Peter 3. a. 1 Cor. 11. c. 1 Tim. 2. d.

g Rom. 7. a. 1 Cor. 7. g. Mat. 19. a.

h 1 Cor. 7. a. 1 Peter 3. b.

i Ephe. 6. a. 2 Tim. 2. d.

Wherfore, they that be thus couppled together by God, can not be severed or put a parte, oneles it be for a season, with th'assent of bothe parties,[k] to th'end to gyve theym selves the more ferventlie to fastyng and prayer; gyvyng diligent hede, in the meane tyme, that their longe beyng aparte be not a snare to bryng them into the daunger of Satan through incontinencie. And therfore to avoyde fornication, every man oughte to have his owne wyffe, and every woman her owne howsband: so that so many as can not lyve chaste, are bownde by the commandement of God to mary,[l] that therby the holye temple of God, which is our bodies, may be kept pure and undefiled.[m] For synce owr bodies are now become the very members of Jesus Christe, howe horrible and detestable a thyng is it to make theym the members of an harlot! Every one oght therfore to kepe his vessel in all purenes and holines;[n] for whosoever polluteth and defileth the temple of God, hym will God destroye.[o]

k 2 Cor. 7. a.

l Matt. 19. b. 1 Cor. 7. b.

m 1 Cor. 3. c. & 6. d. 2 Cor. 6. d. Lev. 26. b. 1 Peter 1. d.

n 1 Thess. 4. Rom. 12. a. Ephe. 5. d.

o 1 Cor. 3. d.

Here the Minister speakethe to the parties that shalbe mariede, in this wise:

I REQUIRE and charge you, as you will answer at the daye of

judgement, when the secretes of all hartes shalbe disclosed,[a] that if either of you do knowe any impediment whie ye may not be lawfully joyned together in matrimony, that ye confesse it; for be ye well assured, that so many as be coupled otherwise then Godes Woorde dothe allowe, are not joyned together by God; neyther is theyr matrimony lawfull.

a 1 Cor. 4. a. Matt. 7. a. Rom. 2. a.

If no impediment be knowen,[1] then the Minister sayeth:

I TAKE you to wittenes[2] that be here present, besechyng you all to have good remembraunce hereof; and moreover, if there be any of you which knoweth that either of these parties be contracted to any other, or knoweth any other lawfull impediment, let theym nowe make declaration therof.

If no cawse be alleaged, the Minister procedith, sayinge:

FORASMUCHE as no man speaketh agaynste this thynge, you, N., shall proteste here before God and his holy congregation, that you have takyn, and are now contented to have N., here present, for your lawfull wyfe and spowse; promisyng to kepe her, to love and intreate her in all thynges accordyng to the dewtie of a faythfull howsband,[a] forsakyng all other durynge her lyfe; and briefelie, to lyve in a holy conversation with her, kepynge faythe and trewthe in all poyntes, according as the Worde of God and his holie Gospell dothe commaunde.

a Col. 3. d. 1 Peter 3. b. Matt. 19. c. 1 Cor. 7. b. Mala. 2. d.

The Answere.

EVEN so I take her before God, and in presence of this his Congregation.

[1] In the editions 1561 and 1562: "If no impediment be by them declared, then the Minister saith, to the whole Congregation." So also in the Latin version of 1556: "Si nihil impedimenti objiciatur, tum Minister his verbis compellat populum."

[2] In the later copies, "witnes," "witness."

The Minister to the Spowse also sayethe:

YOU, N., shall proteste here before the face of God, in the presence of this holy congregation, that ye have takyn, and are now contented to have, N., here present, for your lawfull howsband; promisynge to hym subjection and obedience,[a] forsakyng all other duryng hys lyfe; and fynallie, to lyve in a holy conversation with hym, kepinge faithe and truethe in all poyntes, as Godes Worde doth prescribe.

[a] 1 Cor. 11. a. Ephe. 5. c. Col. 3. c. 1 Tim. 2 d. 1 Peter 3. a. Ester 1. d.

The Answere.

EVEN so I take hym before God, and in the presence of this his congregation.

[The Minister then sayeth:][1]

GIVE diligent care to the [words of the] Gospell, that ye may understande how our Lorde wolde have this holy contracte kept and observed; and how sure and faste a knott it is, which may in no wyse be lowsed, accordyng as we be taughte in the 19. chapter of S. Mathewes Gospell:—

"The Pharisies came unto Christe to tempte hym and to grope his mynde, sayinge, Is it lawfull for a man to put away his wife for every lighte cawse? He answered, sayinge, Have ye not read, that He which created man at the begynnynge, made theym male and female? sayeng, For this thyng shall man leave father and mother, and cleave unto his wife, and they twayne shalbe one flesshe; so that they are no more two, but are one flesshe. Lett no man therfore put asonder that which God hathe cowpled together." Math. 19.

If ye beleve assuredlie these woordes which owr Lorde and Saviour did speake, (accordyng as ye have hard them now rehearsed owte of the holy Gospell,) then may you be certayne, that God hathe evyn so knytt you together in this holy state of wedlocke. Wherfore applie your selves to lyve a chaste and

[1] This line is omitted in the edit. 1556 and 1561.

holie lyfe together, in godlie love, in Christian peace, and good example; ever holdinge faste the band of charitie withowte any breache, kepinge faithe and trueth th'one to the other, even as Godes Woorde dothe appoynte.

Then the Minister commendeth theym to God, in this or suche like sorte:

THE Lorde sanctifie and blesse you; the Lorde powre the riches of his grace uppon you, that ye may please hym, and lyve together in holy love to youre lyves ende. So be it.

Then is songe the 128 Psalme, "Blessed are they that feare the Lorde," &c.[1] or some other, appertaynyng to the same purpose.

THE VISITATION OF THE SICKE.[2]

BECAWSE the Visitation of the Sicke is a thyng verie necessarie, and yet notwithstandyng, it is hard to prescribe all rules appertaynyng therunto, wee refer it to the discretion of the godlie and prudent Minister; who, accordinge as he seethe the pacient affected, either may lift hym up with the swete promesses of Godes merey through Christe, if he perceive hym moche afrayde of Godes thretenynges; or contrarie wise, if he be not towched with the felinge of his synnes, may beate hym downe with Godes justice. Evermore like a skilfull phisition, framyng his medicine accordyng as the disease requireth; and if he perceyve hym to wante any necessaries, he not onelie releveth hym accordyng to his abilitie, but also provideth by others that he may be furnissed sufficiently. Moreover, the partie that is visited, may, at all tymes, for his comforte, sende for the Minister; who dothe not onelie make prayers for hym there presentlie, but also, if it so requyre, commendeth hym in the publique prayers to the Congregation.

[1] Sternhold's version of this Psalm is included in the edit. 1556.

[2] In the Latin version, "De invisendis ægrotis."

Of Buriall.[1]

The corps is reverently brought to the grave, accompagnied with the Congregation, withowte any further ceremonies;[2] which beyng buriede, the minister goeth to the church, if it be not farre of, and maketh some comfortable exhortacion to the people, towchyng deathe and resurrection.

The Order of the Ecclesiasticall Discipline.

As no Citie, Towne, howse, or familie can maynteine their estate and prospere without policie and governaunce,[3] so the Churche of God, which requireth more purely to be governed then any citie or familie, can not without spirituall Policie and ecclesiasticall Discipline continewe, encrease, and florishe.

And as the Word of God is the life and soule of this Churche,[a] so this godlie ordre and discipline is as it were synewes in the bodie, which knit and joyne the membres together with decent order and comelynes. It is a brydle to staye the wicked frome their myschiefes. It is a spurre to pricke forward suche as be slowe and necligent; yea, and for all men it is the Father's rodde ever in a readines to chastice gentelye the fautes committed, and to cawse theym afterward to lyve in more godlie feare and reverence. Finallye, it is an ordre left by God unto his Churche, wherby men learne to frame their wills, and doinges, accordinge to the lawe of God,[4] by instructing and admonishinge one an other, yea, and by correctinge and ponishinge all obstinate rebells, and contemners of the same.

[a] Ephe. 5. f.

[1] In the Latin version, 1556, "De Sepultura."

[2] In edit. 1561, "ceremonie."

[3] "The necessitie of Discipline."—(*Marg. note.*)

[4] "What Discipline is."—(*Ib.*)

There are three cawses chiefly which move the Churche of God to the executinge of Discipline.[1] First, that men of evell conversation be not nombred amongest God's childrene to their Father's reproche,[b] as if the Churche of God were a sanctuary for naughtie and vile persons. The second respect is, that the good be not infected with compagnyinge the evell; which thinge S. Paule forsawe when he commaunded the Corinthians to banishe frome amongst theym the incestuous adulterer,[2] sainge, "A litle leavyn maketh sowre the whole lump of dowe."[c] The third cawse is, that a man thus corrected, or excommunicated, might be ashamed of his faut,[d] and so through repentance come to amendement; the which thinge the Apostole calleth, "deliveringe to Satan, that his soule may be saved in the day of the Lord;" meaning that he might be ponished with excommunication, to the intent his soule shuld not perishe for ever.[3]

b Ephe. 5. f.

c 1 Cor. 5. b. Gal. 5. b.

d 2 The. 3. b. 1 Cor. 5. c.

First, therfore, it is to be noted, that this censure, correction, or Discipline, is either private or publike; private, as if a man committ either in maners or doctrine against thee, to admonishe hym brotherly betwixt him and thee.[e] If perchaunce he stubburnely resist thy charitable advertisementes, or els by contynuance in his faut declare that he amendeth not; then, after he hath bene the second tyme warned in presence of two or three witnesses, and continueth obstinately in his error, he ought, as our Savior Christ commaundeth, to be disclosed and uttered to the Church, so that accordinge to publike Discipline,[4] he either may be receyved through repentance, or els be ponished as his faut requireth.

e Matt. 18. b. Luc. 17. a. Jam. 5. d. Lev. 19. d. 2 Thes. 3. d.

And here, as towchinge private Discipline, thre thinges are to be noted.[5] First, that our admonitions procede of a godly zeale and conscience, rather sekinge to wynne our brother then to slaunder him. Next, that we be assured that his

[1] "For what causes it ought to be used."—(*Marg. note.*)

[2] In the edit. 1556, "adultether."

[3] "The order of procedinge in private discipline."—(*Marg. note.*)

[4] "Publicke Discipline."—(*Ib.*)

[5] "What thinges are to be observed in private Discipline."—(*Ib.*)

faut be reprouvable by God's Woord. And finally, that we use suche modestie and wisdome, that if we somewhat dout of the matter wherof we admonishe hym, yet with godly exhortations he may be broght to the knowlage of his faut. Or if the faut apperteyne to many, or be knowen of divers, that our admonition be done in presence of theym.

Briefly, if it concerne the whole Churche, in such sorte that the concelinge therof might procure some daunger to the same, that then it be uttered to the Ministers and Seniors, to whome the policie of the church doth apperteine.

Also in publike Discipline,[1] it is to be observed that the Ministerie pretermit nothinge at any tyme unchastised with one kind of ponishement or other. If they perceyve any thinge in the Congregation, either evyll in example, sclaunderous in maners, or not besemynge their profession; as if there be any covetous personne, any adulterer, or fornicator, forsworne, thief, briber, false witnes-bearer, blasphemer, dronkarde, slaunderer, usurer; any person disobedient, seditious, or dissolute; any heresie or sect, as Papisticall, Anabaptisticall, and such like: briefly, what so ever it be that might spott the Christian congregation,[f] yea, rather what so ever is not to edification, oght not to escape either admonition or ponishement. [f] Ephe. 5. 1.

And becawse it happeneth sometyme in the Churche of Christ, that when other remedies assayed proffitt nothinge, they must procede to the Apostolicall rodd and correction as unto Excommunication,[2] (which is the greatest and last ponishement belonginge to the spirituall Ministerie); it is ordeyned, that nothinge be attempted in that behalf with out the determination of the whole Churche: wherein also they must be ware and take good heede,[3] that they seme not more readie to expell frome the Congregation then to receyve againe

[1] "Of publike Discipline, and of the end therof."—(*Marg. note.*)

[2] "Excommunication is the last remedie."—(*Ib.*)

[3] "Rigor in ponishements ought to be avoyded."—(*Ib.*)

those in whome they perceyve worthie frutes of repentance to appeare. Neither yet to forbyd hym the hearinge of sermons, which is excluded frome the sacraments, and other duties of the Churche, that he may have libertie and occasion to repent. Finally, that all ponishementes, corrections, censures, and admonitions, stretche no farther then God's Woorde,[1] with mercie, may lawfully beare.[2]

MATTH. XV.

They worshipe me in vayne, teachinge doctrine which is men's traditions.

REVELAT. XVIII.

Come forthe of Babylon my people, that ye be not partakers of her synnes, nor receyve of her plagues, for her synnes are gone up to heaven, and God hath remembred her wickednes.

[1] "God's Woord is the onely rule of discipline."—(*Marg. note.*)

[2] In the Latin version 1556, this division is entitled, "De Disciplina seu Animadversione Ecclesiastica," followed by "De Eligendis Ministris"—"De Conscribendis Pastoris Formula"—"De Officio atque Electione Seniorum"—"De Diaconis, horumque Officio ac Electione"—"De Ministris Conventu"—and "De Scripturis Interpretandis." These correspond with the English text at pages 174–179. At the foot of the last page (p. 80) is added, "His adjicere solemus Psalmos Anglico traductos ac Genevensem Catechismum, quem tam Latine toties æditum non necesse putavimus hoc loco attexere. Τέλος."

[The next portion of the volume, printed in 1556, has this title: "ONE AND FIFTIE PSALMES OF DAVID IN ENGLISHE METRE, wherof 37. were made by Thomas Sterneholde: ād the rest by others. Cōferred with the Hebrewe, and in certeyn places corrected as the text and sens of the Prophete required." (Same woodcut device as on the title-page, but no imprint or date.) Ends on p. 159, the Psalmes, as usual, being set to musick, as described at page 166, note 2.

Then follows the third portion, with this title: "THE CATECHISME OR MANNER to teache children the Christian religion, wherin the Minister demandeth the question, and the childe maketh answere. Made by the excellent Doctor and Pastor in Christes Churche, Iohn Caluin. (The same device repeated). BY IOHN CRESPIN. M.D.LVI," pp. 167. The following Prayers, &c., commence on page 156. The woodcut device is repeated with the colophon *infra* page 214.]

A FOURME OF PRAYERS TO BE USED IN PRIVAT HOUSES, EVERY MORNINGE AND EVENYNGE.[1]

Morninge Prayer.

ALMIGHTIE God and most mercifull Father, we do not present our selves here before thy Majestie trusting in our owne merites or worthynes, but in thy manifold mercies,[a] which hast promised to heare our Prayers, and graunt our requestes which we shall make to thee in the name of thy beloved Sonne Jesus Christ our Lord:[b] who hath also commaunded us to assemble our selves together in his name,[c] with ful assurance that he wyll not onely be amongst us, but also be our mediator and advocate towards thy Majestie,[d] that we may obteyne all thinges which shall seme expedient to thy blessed wyll for our necessities.[e] Therfore we beseche thee, most mercifull Father, to tourne thy lovynge contenance towardes us, and impute not unto us our manyfold synnes and offences,[f] wherby we justely deserve thy wrath and sharpe punishement, but rather receyve us to thy mercye for Jesus Christes sake, acceptinge his death and Passion as a juste recompence for all our offences,[g] in whome onely thow art pleased, and through whome thow canst not be offended with us. And seinge that of thy great mercies we have quietly passed this night, graunt, O heavenly Father, that we may spend and bestowe this day wholy in thy service, so that all our thoghtes, wordes, and deedes may redounde to the glorie of thy name,[h] and good ensample to all men, who seinge our good workes may glorifie thee our heavenly Father And forasmoche as of thy mere benevolence[2] and love thow haste not onely created us to thyne owne similitude and lyke-

[a] Daniel 9. e.
[b] Joh. 16. e.
[c] Matt. 18. a.
[d] 1 Tim. 2. b.
[e] 1 Joh. 3. d.
[f] Psal. 32. a.
[g] 1 Joh. 2. a.
[h] Col. 3. c.

[1] The following Prayers are subjoined in the edition of 1556, at the end of Calvin's Catechism. In that of 1561, two of the Prayers are repeated; the Forms, &c., being added as a separate sheet, marked aa, without pagination: See note at page 154.

[2] In the later copies, "of thy favour."

Gen. 2. d. nea,[i] but also haste chosen us to be heyres with thy dere Sonne Jesus Christ of that immortall kingdome which thow prepar-edst for us before the beginnyng of world. We beseeche thee
Luke 17. a. to encrease our faith and knowlage,[k] and to lighten our hartes with thy Holy Spirite, that we may in the meane tyme lyve in godly conversation and integritie of lyfe; knowinge that idola-ters, adulterers, covetous men, contentious persons, dronkardes, glotons, and suche lyke, shall not inherite the kingdome of
Gal. 5. d. God.[l]

(*) And becawse thou haste commaunded us to pray one for another, we do not onely make request, O Lord, for our selves and theym that thow hast already called to the trew under-standinge of thy heavenly wyll, but for all people and nations
Act. 28. e. 1 Tim. 2. a. of the World,[m] who as they knowe by thy wonderfull workes that thow arte God over all, so they may be instructed by thy Holy Spirite to beleve in thee their onely Saviour and Redemer.
Rom. 10. d. But forasmoche as they can not beleve except they heare,[n] nor can not heare but by preaching, and none can preache except they be sent; therfore, O Lord, rayse up faithfull distributers of thy mysteries, who settinge a parte all worldely respectes, may bothe in theyr lyfe and doctrine onely seke thy glorie.
Rom. 16. a. Contrarely confownd Satan, Antechrist,[o] with all hyrelinges and Papistes,[1] whome thow hast already cast off into a reprobate sense, that they may not by sectes, schismes, heresies, and errors, disquiet thy lytle flocke.

And becawse, O Lord, we be fallen into the latter days and daungerous tymes, wherin ignorance hath gott the upper
1 Tim. 4. a. hand,[p] and Satan with his ministers seeke by all meanes to quenche the light of thy Gospell, we beseche thee to mayn-
Matt. 7. c. tayne thy cawse against those raveninge wolves,[q] and strengthen all thy servantes, whome they kepe in pryson and bondage. Let not thy longe sufferinge be an occasion either to encrease theyr tyrannye or to discorage thy childrene; nether yet let our synnes and wickednes be a hinderance to

[1] So in edit. 1562; in that of 1561, the words "and Papistes," are omitted.

thy mercies, but with spede, O Lord, consider these great miseries; and[1] chiefly the afflictions of our Contrie, which once florished through thy mercies, and nowe for contempt of thy Worde is plagued accordinge to thy judgement.[r] Alas, Lord, mayst thow not be intreated? Shall we thus be left in dispayre? Shall all the world laugh at our shame for ever?[s] Truthe it is, Lord, that we were more then sufficiently warned of this thy vengeance to come, both by thy Worde and exemples of others. For thy people Israell many tymes by their synnes provoked thyne anger,[t] and thow ponishedest theym by thy juste judgement; yet thogh theyr synnes were never so grevous, if they once returned from their iniquitie, thow receyvedst theym to mercie.[u] We therfore, most wretched synners, bewayle our manyfolde synnes, and earnestly repent us for our former wickednes and ungodly behavyor towardes thee; and wheras we can not of our selves purchase thy pardon,[x] yet we humbly beseche thee, for Jesus Christ sake, to shewe thy mercies upon us, and restore us agayne to thy favour. Graunt us, deare Father, these our requests, and all other thinges necessarie for us, and thy whole Churche, according to thy promes in Jesus Christe our Lorde: In whose name we beseche thee as he hath taught us, saying:

r Amos 8. Matth. 11. a.

s Psal. 77. b.

t Exo. 32 a.

u Ezec. 37. a.

x Rom. 7. d. 2 Cor. 3. Luk. 17. a.

OUR Father, &c.

A Prayer to be sayd before Meales.[2]

ALL thinges depende upon thy providence, O Lord, to receyve at thy handes due sustenance in tyme convenient. Thou gevest to theym, and they gather it; thou openest thy hand, and they are satisfyede with all good thinges.[a]

a Psal. 104.

O heavenly Father, which arte the fountayne and full treasure of all goodnes, we beseche thee to shewe thy mercies upon

[1] In the edit. 1562, this part is quite changed; and in that of 1561, all that follows, to the words, "For thy people," &c., is omitted.

[2] In the edition 1561, some other forms of Thanksgivings are added, which will afterwards be inserted.

us thy children, and sanctifie these giftes which we receyve of
b 1 Tim. 4. b. thy mercifull liberalitie,[b] grauntinge us grace to use theym
c Tit. 2. c. soberlie and purely accordinge to thy blessed will;[c] so that hereby we may acknowledge thee to be the Author and Gyver of all good thinges; and above all, that we may remembre con-
d Joh. 6 c. d. tinually to seke the spiritual foode of thy Worde,[d] wherwith our soules may be norished everlastingly through our Saviour Christ; who is the trewe breade of lyfe which came downe frome
e Jhon 6. e. heaven,[e] of whome whosoever eateth shall lyve for ever, and raigne with hym in glorie, worlde without ende. So be yt.

A Thankesgevinge after Meales.

LET all nations magnifie the Lord; let all people rejoyce in praysinge and extollinge his great mercies. For his fatherly kindnes is plentifully shewede forth upon us, and the trewth of
a Psal. 117. his promesse endureth for ever.[a]

We render thankes unto thee, O Lord God, for the manifold
b Col. 3. c. benefites which we contynually receyve at thy bountefull hande,[b] not onely for that it hath pleased thee to feede us in this present lyfe, gevinge unto us all thinges necessarie for the same, but especially because thow haste of thy free mercies fashioned
c Rom. 8. c. Tit. 3. b. us anewe into an assured hope of a farr better lyfe,[c] the which
d 2 Tim. 1. b. thowe hast declared unto us by thy holy Gospell.[d] Therfore we humbly beseche thee, O heavenly Father, that thow wylt not suffer our affections to be so entangled or rooted in these
e 1 Joh. 2. a. earthly and corruptible thinges,[e] but that we may alwayes
f 1 Tim. 2. b. have our mindes directed to thee on high,[f] continually watch-
g 1 Cor. 1. b. inge for the comminge of our Lord and Savyour Christ,[g] what
h Rom. 8. d. tyme he shall appeare for our full redemptioun:[h] To whom, with thee, and the Holy Ghost, be all honor and glorie, for ever and ever. So be it.

Evenynge Prayer.

O LORD GOD, Father everlastinge and full of pitie, we acknowledge and confesse that we be not worthie to lyft up our eies

to heaven,[a] muche lesse to present our selves before thy Majestie with confidence that thow wilt heare our prayers and grawnt our requestes, if we consider our owne deservinges; for our consciences do accuse us, and our synnes witnes against us, and we knowe that thow arte an upright judge, which doest not justifie the sinners and wicked men, but ponishes the fautes of all suche as transgresse thy commaundementes.[b] Yet moste mercifull Father, since it hath pleased thee to commaunde us to call on thee in all our troubles and adversities,[c] promesinge even then to help us, when we fele our selves, as it were, swallowed up of death and desperation,[d] we utterly renounce all worldely confidence, and flee to thy soveraigne bountie as our onely stay and refuge; besechinge thee not to call to remembrance our manifold synnes and wickednes,[e] wherby we contynually provoke thy wrath and indignation against us; neither our negligence and unkindnes, which have neither worthely estemed, nor in our lyves sufficiently expressed the swete comfort of thy Gospell reveled unto us; but rather to accept the obedience and death of thy Sonne Jesus Christ, who by offeringe up his bodie in sacrifice once for all,[f] hath made a sufficient recompence for all our synnes. Have mercie therfore upon us, O Lord, and forgive us our offences.[g] Teache us by thy Holie Spirite that we may rightlye waye theym, and earnestly repent for the same. And so muche the rather, O Lord, becawse that the reprobate, and suche as thow hast forsaken,[h] can not prayse thee, nor call upon thy name, but the repentinge harte, the sorowfull minde, the conscience oppressed,[i] hungringe and thirstinge for thy grace, shall ever sett forthe thy prayse and glorie.[k] And albeit we be but wormes and dust,[l] yet thow arte our Creator, and we be the worke of thy handes; yea, thow arte our Father and we thy children;[m] thow arte our Shepherde and we thy flocke; thow arte our Redemer and we the people whom thow haste boght; thow arte our God and we thyn enheritance: Correcte us not therfore in thyne anger,[n] O Lord; neither accordinge to our desertes ponishe us, but mercifully chastice

a Luk. 15. d. 18. c.
b Exod. 2 a.
c Psal. 50. c.
d Psal. 18 a.
e Psal. 79. b.
f Hebr. 9. 10.
g Psal. 19. d.
h Psal. 58 a.
i Psal. 5. c.
k Psal. 107. a.
l Psal. 12. a.
m 2 Cor. 6. b.
n Jer. 10 b. Psal. 6. a.

us with a fatherly affection, that all the world may knowe that at what tyme so ever a synner doth repent hym of his synne from the bottome of his hart,[o] thow wylt put away his wickednes owt of thy remembrance, as thow haste promesed by thy holy Prophete.(*)[1]

o Eze. 18. d.

Finally, forasmoche as it hath pleased thee to make the night for man to rest in, as thow haste ordeyned hym the day to travell, graunt, O deare Father, that we may so take our bodely rest, that our soules may contynually watche for the tyme that our Lord Jesus Christe shall appeare for our deliverance owte of this mortall lyfe;[p] and in the meane season, that we, not overcome by any tentations, fantasies, dreames, or illusions,[q][2] may fully set our mindes upon thee, love thee, feare thee, and rest in thee. Furthermore, that our sleape be not excessive or overmoche, after the insaciable desires of our fleshe,[r] but onely sufficient to content our weake nature, that we may be better disposed to lyve in all godly conversation, to the glory of thy holy name and profett of our brethren. So be it.

p Luke 12. e.

q Mat. 6. b.

r Luke 21. a.

A Prayer made at the First Assemblie of the Congregation, when the Confession of our Faithe, and whole Orders of the Church, was there red and approved.

O Lord God Almightie, and Father moste mercifull, there is none lyke thee in heaven nor in earthe,[a] which workest all thinges for the glorie of thy name and the comfort of thyne elect. Thow dydst once make man ruler over all thy creatures, and placed hym in the garden of all pleasures;[b] but how soone, alas, dyd he in his felicitie forget thy goodnes?[c] Thy people Israel, also, in their wealth dyd evermore runne astray,[d] abus-

a 3 King. 8. c.

b Gen. 1. d 2 b.

c Gen. 3. d.

d Exod. 23. b.

[1] "This marke directeth us to that part of the Morninge Prayer that is for th'increase of the Gospell, which also may be sayd here as tyme serveth."—(*Marg. note.*)

[2] In the edit. 1561 and 1562, "not overcomen by any fantasies, dreams, or other temptations."

inge thy manifold mercies; lyke as all fleshe contynually rageth when it hath gotten libertie and externall prosperitie. But suche is thy wisdome adjoyned to thy mercies, deare Father, that thow sekest all meanes possible to brynge thy chyldrene to the sure sense and lyvely feelinge of thy fatherly favor.[e] And therfore when prosperitie wyll not serve, then sendest thow adversitie, graciously correctinge all thy chyldren whome thow receyvest into thy howshold.[f] Wherfore we, wretched and miserable synners, render unto thee most humble and hartie thankes, that yt hath pleased thee to call us home to thy folde by thy Fatherly correction at this present, wheras in our prosperitie and libertie we dyd neglect thy graces offered unto us. For the which negligence, and many other grevous synnes whereof we now accuse our selves before thee, thow mightest moste justly have gyven us up to reprobate mynds and induration of our hartes,[g] as thow haste done others. But suche is thy goodnes, O Lord, that thow semest to forget all our offences,[h] and haste called us of thy good pleasure frome all idolatries into this Citie[1] most Christianlye refourmed, to professe thy name, and to suffer some crosse amongeste thy people for thy trewth and Gospell's sake;[i] and so to be thy wytnesses with thy Prophets and Apostles,[k] yea, with thy dearely beloved Sonne Jesus Christ our head, to whome thow dost begynne here to fashon us lyke, that in his glorie we may also be lyke hym when he shall appeare.[l] O Lord God, what are we upon whome thowe shuldest shewe this great mercye?[m] O moste lovynge Lord, forgyve us our unthankefulnes, and all our synnes for Jesus Christ's sake. O heavenly Father, increase thy Holy Spirit in us; to teache our hartes to cry Abba, deare Father![n] to assure us of our eternal election in Christ; to revele thy wyll more and more towards us; to confirme us so in thy trewthe, that we may lyve and dye therein; and that by the power of the same Spirit, we may boldely gyve an accompts[2] of our faith to all men with humblenes and mekenes, that where

e Ezech. 18. g.

f Hebr. 12. a. Proverb. 7. a.

g Rom. 1. d.

h Esa. 47. d.

i Matth. 5. a.

k Luk. 24. g. Acte 1. a.

l 1 Joh. 3. a.

m Psal. 8. a.

n Gal 4. a.

[1] The City of Geneva.

[2] In edit. 1561, "an accountes."

as they backbyte and slaunder us as evyll doers, they may be ashamed and once stopp their mowthes, seinge our good conversation in Christ Iesu,[o] for whose sake we beseche thee, O Lord God, to guyde, governe, and prosper this our enterprise in assemblinge our Bretherne to prayse thy holie name. And not onely to be here present with us thy children according to thy promesse,[p] but also mercifullie to assist thy like persecuted people, our Bretherne, gathered in all other places, that they and we, consentinge together in one spirite and truethe,[q] may (all worldly respectes set a part) seke thy onely honor and glorie in all our and their Assemblies. So be it.

o 1 Peter 3. c.

p Math. 18. d.

q Rom. 15. b.

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1 Cor. 3.

No man can laye any other foundation then that which is layed, even Iesus Christ.

Imprinted at Geneua, by Iohn Crespin. Anno. D. M. D. LVI. the tenthe of february.

FAMILIAR EPISTLES.

M.D.LV.—M.D.LVIII.

Certane Epistillis and Letteris of the Servand of God Johne Knox, send frome dyverse places to his Friendis and Familiaris in Jesus Chryst.

[*Continued from* Vol. III., *page* 402.][1]

XXVII.

To his Mother, Mrs Elizabeth Bowes.

The wayis of man ar not in his awn power.

Albeit my jurney toward Scotland, belovit Mother, was maist contrarious to my awn judgement, befoir I did interpryse the same, yit this day I prais God for thame wha was the cause externall of my resort to theis quarteris; that is, I prais God in yow, and for yow, whome he maid the instrument to draw me frome the den of my awin ease (yow allane did draw me frome the rest of quyet studie) to contemplat and behald the fervent thrist of oure brethrene, nyght and day sobbing and gronyng for the breid of lyfe. Gif I had not sene it with my eyis[2] in my awn contrey, I culd not have beleivit it. I praisit God when I was with yow, perceaving that in the middis of Sodome, God had ma Lottis than one, and ma faithfull dochteris than tua. But the fervencie heir doith fer exceid all utheris that I have sene; and thairfoir ye sall pacientlie beir, althocht I spend heir yit

[1] It will be observed that this and the next letter were written while Knox was in Scotland, in the latter part of the year 1555. All the letters in this division, (XXVII.–XXXVII.) are contained in Dr M'Crie's Manuscript volume.

[2] Eyis, in the MS. usually written "eis."

sum dayis; for depart I can not, unto sic tyme as God quenche thair thrist a litill. Yea, Mother, thair fervencie doith sa ravische me, that I can not but accuse and condemp my sleuthfull coldnes. God grant thame thair hartis desyre! And I pray yow adverteis of your estait, and of thingis that have occurit sence your last wrytting. Comfort your self in Godis promissis, and be assureit, that God steiris up ma freindis than we be war of. My commendationis to all in your company. I commit yow to the protectioun of the Omnipotent.

In great haist, the 4. of November 1555.[1]

Your Sone,

JOHNE KNOX.

XXVIII.

BELOVIT MOTHER,—With my maist hartlie commendatioun in the Lord Jesus. Albeit I was fullie purpoisit to have visitit yow befoir this tyme, yit hath God laid impedimentis whilk I culd not avoyd: thay ar suche as I dout not ar to his glorie, and to the comfort of many heir. The trumpet blew the ald sound thrie dayis together, till privat houssis of indifferent largenes culd not conteane the voice of it. God for Chryst his Sonis sake grant me to be myndfull that the sobbis of my hart hath not bene in vane, nor neglectit in the presence of his Majestie. O! sueit war the death that suld follow sic fourtie dayis in Edinbrugh, as heir I have had thrie. Rejoise, Mother, the tyme of oure delyverance aprocheth; for as Sathan rageth, sa dois the grace of the Halie Spreit abound, and daylie giveth new testimonyis of the everlasting love of oure mercifull Father. I can wryt na mair to yow at this present.

The grace of the Lord Jesus rest with yow. In haist, this Monday.

Your Sone,

JOHNE KNOX.

[1] In the MS., the explanatory note, "Frome Scotland," is added.

XXIX.

To Mistress Locke and Mistress Hickman, Merchandis wyffis in Londoun.

The Lord sall gather his dispersit.

Deirlie belovit Sisteris in our Saviour Jesus Chryst, as I ceiss not to call for your continewance in the treuth of that doctrine whilk anis ye haif professit, sa dar I not omit, besyd my generall admonitioun unto the haill congregatioun (whilk, I pray yow, reid and considder), particularlie also not onlie to admonische yow, but evin in Chrystis bowellis to beseik yow, not onlie to flie the present idolatrie, but also, with suche expeditioun as God sall offer unto yow, by the consall and discretioun of thois that God hath apoyntit to your heidis (your husbandis I meane), to avoid alsweill the occasioun of idolatrie as the plaguis that assuiredlie sall follow that abominatioun.

Dispyse not my consall, deir Sisteris, howbeit at this present it appeirs hardlie to be followit. God sall prepair ane easie way, sa that his godlie will be preferit unto yours. It wer mair comfortable unto me, as tuiching the warld, to knaw yow at rest and quyetnes in your awn houses, then to be in suche a strait as thois that frome realme to realme, and citie to citie, seik rest as pilgremes, and yit sall find none. But God I tak to record in my conscience, that or I suld knaw yow so far convictit as to bow to idolatrie, and daylie confirme the same be your presence, I rather wold chuse unto your company to beg my breid, during sic tyme as that abominatioun sall indure. And albeit I know that ye myght live in thois quarteris with frie conscience; whilk I greatlie dout ye can not do yit to knaw yow amangis thois whome God sall plague in his furie, wilbe no small cross to my hart. But the Lord knaweth to preserve just Lot frome the middis of Sodome befoir

it be destroyit; and thairin do I rejois, having Godis sure promeis, that suche as murne in thair hartis for abominatioun and mischevous iniquitie, what tymes thai overflow realmes and cities, salbe merkit in thair foirheidis be the same Angell that is apoyntit to tak vengeance upon the proud, obstinat, and abominable idolaters. Heirin, I say, I am comfortit, having gud hoip that God sall provyd for yow in the middis of a wickit generatioun; whilk na dout salbe punissit according to the threatnyngis and voces of the Prophetis, whilk lang and planelie cryit, when, allace! litill regarde was takin thairto. But when I considder and call to mynd how God, I dout not, brocht us in sic familiar acquaintance, that your hartis war incensit and kendillit with a speciall care over me, as the mother useth to be over hir naturall chyld, and how my hart was opinit and compellit in your presence to be mair plane in suche matteris as efter hath cum to pass, then ever I was to any. For ye remember, as I suppois, how efter great angusche and sorrow of hart, whilk many dayis I susteanit, at last I was compellit, with weiping tearis, to oppin unto you that whilk almaist no man culd haif beleiffit.[1] Ye remember my judgement, and what communicatioun we had upon the same. God grant ye remane in the same mynd that then I found yow, whilk was, that ye litill regardit the rest of the warld, or yit the love of your contrey, in respect of that lyfe to cum; and that ye rather wald leif possessionis and freindis nor that ye suld admit idolatrie.

When all theis thingis I call to mynd, and how oftin I have exhortit yow to tak exempill by me, who was a stranger, and yit be Godis grace had found favour not onlie in your eyis, but also befoir many, (howbeit with none I was so familiar); and when I remember that commonlie I usit to admonische yow to be of gud comfort, albeit ye suld be compellit for Chrystis sake to

[1] "During the life of King Edward, Knox had strong presages of the troubles about to come upon England."—(Note by the Editor of the British Reformers.) See his Godly Letter to the Faithfull, vol. iii. p. 168, &c.

leif your native contrie; for God suld never leif yow comfortles, but suld alwayis provyd for yow, evin as he had done for othir his elect befoir yow, and as ye presentlie saw his mercie schawit upon me. And when I remember that all sic admonitionis I ussit when na apeirance thair was of suche trubillis, as efter hath ensewit, and mair aboundantlie sall ensew; when all theis things I call to mynd, I can na uthirwyse judge, but that God usit our familiaritie and communicatioun for that present, as a preparative for a scharper medicene; and thairfoir I can not refrane maist ernistlie to exhort yow, that altogidder ye repugne not to the admonitionis of God, but to gif place to Godis furie, rather nor to expone your self to the perdition boith of bodeis and saullis. My hart weipis, and my eyis ar not dry in requyring this of yow, but verie love compelleth me thairto. Remember, deir Sisters, the schortnes and vanitie of all that is in erth. Remember the promissis maid to thois that obey God's holie commandementis. Lay befoir your eyis the horribill plagues that hath fallin upon idolateris, of whome nane sall entir into the kingdome of God; and call first for grace by Jesus to follow that whilk is acceptabill in his syght, and thairefter communicat with your faithfull husbandis, and than sall God, I dout not, conduct your futsteppis, and derect your consallis to his glorie: So be it.

It hath not a litill rejoisit my trubillit hart, to know and understand your constant love and cair not onlie to remane, but also to incres towardis me in theis dangerous and wickit dayis; which is a most assuret tokin and demonstratioun, that that perfect love is not extinguschit be trubill and feir. Easie it is to schaw a face of love whair na danger apeireth; but in persecutioun can na man cair, nor be solist for Chrystis memberis, but suche as ressave lyfe frome that Heid, wha by many tribulationis hath enterit into his kingdome to prepair our places, and schortlie sall returne to put end to all our cairis, to weip the tearis frome our eyis, and to render unto us in that New Erth and Hevinlie Jerusalem, a

hundreth fold more then in this miserabill lyfe we haif lost for his sake; togidder with the lyfe everlasting whilk he hath purchasit unto us, nether with corruptible gold nor silver, nether with the blud of calvis or goatis, mekill less be oblatioun, or rather divillische conjuratioun of ane abominabill Idoll maid of bread,[1] whois worschippers sall not eschape the everlasting plague of Godis wrath; but by his awn most precious blude onis offirit for all, to mak perfyt for ever thois that salbe sanctifeit. Of whilk noumber, as my assureit hoip is that yow ar, so hartlie I beseech the Father of oure Lord Jesus Chryst, that in theis dolorous dayis so ye may be assistit be his Halie Gaist, that knawing his godlie will ye may be moveit to obey the same, to his glorie, and your eternall comfort. Amen.

My hartlie commendatioun to your loving husbandis, whois hartis God comfort, evin with the sobbis of the same hart whome oft yow haif comfortit. And now most of all I commit yow to the protectioun of Him, wha sall not forget to recompens your cairfull mynd over me, most hartlie thanking yow of your particular rememberance and tokinis. I bid you fairwell be Jesus Chryst our Lord, wha sall gather us in glorie when deth may not dissever us. Rejoise, Sisteris, and continew, for the tyme approcheth.

Your Brother, that schewit this visioun unto yow when no suche thing was suspectit,

1556. JOHNE KNOX.

XXX.

TO HIS SISTER IN EDINBURGH.

The mychtie comfort of the Halie Spreit for Salutatioun.

THE unfeanid desyre whilk ye seamed to haif, belovit Sister, to proceid in godlines, moveth me at this tyme to put yow in

[1] The Romish host, or consecrated wafer.

mynd of that solempnit professioun whilk anis ye maid in my presence: Whilk wer thir cheif principallis: First, that salvatioun nor lyfe is nane to be found without the bodie of our Lord Jesus; whilk anis offirit, and suffering the death, we, and all Godis elect childrene, do confes the onlie sacrifice acceptabill in the sycht of God the Father, for the offences of all beleivers. Be whilk sacrifice ar all the elect of God not onlie anis redemit, but also sanctifeit be the same, for ever. All sacrifices for sin, uther than the death of the immaculat Lamb, Jesus, we did opinlie protest oure selves to abhor and detest. And last, all religioun not groundit upon the Word of God, we feirit not to proclame abominabill and wickit.

Aganis this confessioun, I knaw that not onlie the Divill in his awn face, wirking into the sonis of unbeleif, sall stryve and contend, as aganist that whilk is the subversioun of his haill kingdome; but also sall he cleith him self in ane Angell of lycht, and cum to yow under the colour of freindschip (as in ane uthir letter I have tuichit), and sall allure and solist yow be persuasionis of the naturall man, that ye neid not to be sa strait and sa severir, for God is mercifull; and thairfoir that ye may beir with the tyme, for avoyding danger and displeasure baith to your self and to uthiris. Yea, perchance he salbe so bold, that he sall object, that ye tempt God, except that ye do as uthiris do, to keip your self in saiftie. But to all theis objectionis, belovit Sister, I can ansuer na uther wayis than oure Maister gaif consale and commandement to his Discipillis, in theis wordis: "Be ye simpill as dowis,[1] and prudent as serpentis." Befoir, he had spokin mekill of thair trubill; and he was not ignorant, that by dyvers wayis thai suld be temptit. Sumtymes, thai suld be provokit to defend thame selves be the arme of man; and into that case, he commandis unto thame the simplicitie of the dow, whilk can defend hir self by no uthir meanis, frome the assaltis of ravenous foullis, but onlie be the suiftnes of hir wingis. Sumtymes, thai suld be temptit to obey wickit majes-

[1] "Dowis," doves.

trates into thingis unlawfull; and in that case he willit thame to follow the prudence of the serpentis, wha doith stop hir eares when sche begyneth to heir ane instrument play, or any man sing, lest that be the sueitnes of the same sche suld be brocht asleip, and sa takin or slane. So willit Chryst his Discipillis to schut up the earis of thair mynd, when that ever the warld, by pleasing allurementis, wald persuad us to declyne frome God, be obedience gevin to iniquitie.

Be yow assured, deir Sister, that all theis persuasionis ar nothing ellis but sweit songis of the Divill, to bring your saule asleip, to that intent that he may distroy it. Trew it is, that God is mercifull; but aucht we thairfoir continew in sin without repentance? Yf it be strait severitie to flie and avoyd ydolatrie, then is it fulischnes to absteane frome adulterie, for thai ar both alyke odious[1] befoir God; yea, the one, in sa far as it doith violat the first Tabill, is moir abominable befoir him than the other. Danger is to be feirit, I confes; but I wonder that men, for fear of ane uncertane danger, will jeopard to rin on the inevitabill and perpetuall condempnation. The Word of the living God, whilk was, is, and salbe sure and stabill for ever, promissis dampnatioun to idolateris, and unto sic as for feir of temporall punisment dar not absteane frome idolatrie. But the word of vane man doith threattin temporall death to sic as will not obey thair wickit and detestable preceptis. Now, lat your wisdome judge whilk danger is greattest, maist sure, and maist to be feirit. The Word of God whilk pronunceth deith perpetuall to idolateris is irrevocabill, and can not be fals. The word and wraith of man is vane and uncertane, lyke him self: he can performe nothing of his awn cogitationis: he hes not be him self breath nor lyfe to live the moment of ane hour: how than sall he have power to hurt and molest the sonis and dauchteris of the most hiest God, without his awn permissioun and tollerance?

Na, Sister, thair is na sic thing to be feirit; nether can

[1] The MS. has "adois."

absteanyng frome idolatrie be callit ane tempting of God, but ane humill obedience gevin to his commandement, whilk his Majestie sall acknawledge, allow, and justifie, when feirfull schrinkeris sall trembill and schaik befoir the Judge maist incorrupt. And thairfoir, deir Sister, studie ye to pleas your hevinlie Father, and he sall tak cair over yow. He that hath preservit yow in youre motheris womb, that hath send yow the lycht of his blissit Evangell, and hath coverit the multitude of youre sinnis with the mantill of his mercie, will not leif yow comfortles in your battell whilk ye sall susteane for his treuthis sake. The God of comfort and consolatioun, wha hath callit frome death Jesus oure Lord, wha by the blude of the eternall Testament is the great pastour of oure saullis, mak yow perfyt in all gud workis, and establische yow in the knawin veritie of Jesus our Lord: whais Omnipotent Spreit comfort and assist yow now and ever.

At Deip, the 8. of August 1556.

Youris knawin,

JOHNE SINCLAIR.[1]

XXXI.

TO HIS SISTERIS IN EDINBURGH.

THE Answer to your Scripture, tuiching[2] the Apparell of Wemen, commanded be the Apostillis Sanct Paule and Peter to be usit of sic as profess godlines, is verie difficill and dangerous to apoynt any certantie, leist in sa doing we either restrane Christiane libertie, or else loose the brydill too far

[1] At this time Knox had reached Dieppe on his way to Geneva. In several letters of the period, he had assumed his Mother's name, evidently to avoid compromising his friends in Scotland, in the event of his letters being intercepted. See p. 245.

[2] "Tuiching," touching.

to the folische fantassie of facill flesche. For gif we sall condempne sic vane apparell as maist commonlie now is usit amang wemen, we salbe callit rigorous and seveir, and be accusit as too muche inclynyng to superstitioun. And gif we sall say that to the cleane all is cleane, and that the externall apparell doith not defyle the inward conscience, then I feir that we salbe patronis to sic as be thair vanitie doith witnes and declair that thay litill understand what is Christiane puritie, whilk doith not onlie studie to keip the self cleane in Godis presence, but is also maist cairfull to give gude exampill to uthiris, and to avoid all occasioun of offence and sclander. Thair be sum whilk will not be sene altogether ignorant of Godis Word, and yit, nevertheles, armit as it wer with the exampill of the multitude in apparell, ar mair lyke to courtesinis than to grave matronis. Let sic knaw and perfytlie understand that thair knawledge within the Scriptures of God sall turne to thair condempnatioun, except that be thair spedie repentance thay prevent Godis judgementis. For in vane it is not that in sa mony and dyvers places of Scriptures he hes gevin advertisment in that case, and that his Majesteis Spreit hath chydit aganis the superfluous apparell and stinking pryd of wemen.

But yit I say, to determyne any certane thing in this behalf is dangerous, for the considderatioun afoirsaid. For evin as a certane dyet and quantitie or qualitie of meit and drink can not be prescrybit to man, for the varietie of thair natures, complexionis, and age, sa can not a certane habeit or fassioun of garment be apoyntit nether to man nor woman. The Word of God condempneth drounkinnes, excess, delicacie, banketting, with fersing[1] of the bellie, yit doith it not apoynt, nether measure ane kynd of meit to be useit, but assureth the godlie, that the beastis of the earth, the foullis of the air, and the fischis of the sea, be apoyntit for mannis sustentatioun, and that to the faithfull all thingis be cleane and

[1] From the French verb *Farcir*, to stuff, to cram, to fill.

sanctifeit be the Word of God, and by prayer, that is, that Godis Word dois assure, that in meattis be thame selves thair is na uncleannes. And be that, that we ask of God in ane unfeaned maner, that we may use the giftis of God to his glorie, oure consciences ar assureit that to us thay ar sanctifeit and maid cleane. But yit gif any man will for an use and consuetude say daylie Grace (as thay call it), and yit, nevertheles, hant the taverne, surfeit, and banket, and say all is cleane, I can not trust that his conscience is pure, becaus I sie him use the place, fassioun, and maners of uncleane personis, that is, of drunkardis and ryottis. Evin sa is it to be judgeit of the other; for in claith, silkis, velveit, gold, and uthir sic, thair is na uncleanness, but becaus that uncleane personis do abuse the same to ostentatioun; sum to allure the eyis of men, sum for pryd, and sum becaus thay will not be unlyke to thair fellowis. I can not praise the commoun superfluitie whilk now is usit amang wemen in thair apparell. For whair the Apostill forbiddeth the imbrodering and wresting of the hair, the attyring with gold and uther suche, he condempneth all affectatioun and appetite, of trimines, fairness, bewtie, and decking, uther than nature hes gevin and simpill honestie doith requyre; and thairfor sic as either labour and studie continewallie to correct naturall bewtie, or yit that be led away with everie new gyse of garment, do greatlie offend aganis that precept of the Apostill in my judgement; for he will, not onlie that the faithfull absteane fra evill, but also fra all apeirance of evile. Gif the broydering of the hair be evill, as it is pronuncit to be, assuredlie the anoynting and colouring of it cannot be gude. Gif sic thingis as Esay the Prophet repruffit in the wemen of his tyme be dampnabill, verdingallis, and sic other fond fantassies that wer knawin in theis dayis, can not be justifeit.

But that I suld not appeir mair severir nor utheris ar, I have takin upon me to translat a Sermone[1] of the man of God, Johne Calvin, to the end that in that matter ye may knaw the judge-

[1] Of this Sermon, translated by Knox, no trace has been discovered.

ment of no than ane: whilk Sermone ye sall ressave in a several traitise be the self. The place of Moses forbidding wemen to be apparellit in the clathing of men, and men lykwyse to be apparellit in the garmentis of wemen, doith teache us, that the ordour whilk God hes set in nature aught not to be invertit or changeit, but aught maist cairfullie to be observed; or els God, wha hath put a distinctioun betuix man and woman in garmentis, wisdome, strenth, and office, is contemnit. But heir man I admonische yow, that the Hebrew text sayith, "Let not the instrumentis or weaponis of man be upon the woman," that is, let not the woman presume to beir the weaponis of man, neither lat the man be cled in a womanis garment. Whairof it is plane, that the Halie Gaist doith appoynt a certane garment to the ane kynd, and a certane sort of weaponis to the other. The garmentis of wemen do declair thair weaknes and unabilitie to execute the office of men. The instrumentis and weaponis whilk men do commounlie beir, do admonische what God sall requyre at thair handis, to wit, prudence, regement, strenth, constancie, administratioun of justice, and defence of sic as be committit to thair charge; with the beiring of office and autoritie in Commounweillis and in his Kirk. Theis be the weaponis, as I have said, of men, whilk God, be his statutis, lawis, and ordinances, hath put into thair handis, of whilk gif thay sall spoill thame selves, and put on the apparell of wemen, then ar thay abominable befoir God; as be the contrarie, gif wemen, forgetting thair awn weaknes and inabilitie to rule, do presume to tak upon thame to beir and use the vestementis and weaponis of men, that is, the offices whilk God hath assignit to mankynd onlie, thay sall not eschaip the maledictioun of Him wha must declair himself enemy, and a seveir punisser of all thois that be malicious perverteris of the order establissit be his wisdome. But becaus this matter aperteaneth not to yow, I omit farther declaratioun of the same for this present.

The place of Scripture, writtin in the Secund to the Corin-

thians, touching oure clothing with oure mansioun fra heavin, is easie to be understand, gif that the mynd of the Apostill be rychtlie markit, whilk is, to animat and incorage men to suffer the croce of Chryst pacientlie; whilk is a thing maist repugnant to oure nature, and impossibill to be done, except that oure myndis be liftit up fra the erth to the heavin; and thairfor the Apostill, efter that, in the former chapter, he had concluded that a momentary truble bringeth ane eternall joy, in the begyning of this chapter declareth, that in this erth thair is na felicitie to the elect of God of any lang continewance, but that oure verie felicitie is reservit for the lyfe to cum. And to mak this matter mair plane, he compaireth the bodie whilk now liveth unto a cottage or a tent, as Job also calleth it a hous of clay, becaus it is alwayis falling in decay, and never doith abyd in any permanent stait; and that bodie that salbe gevin to us in the resurrectioun he calleth eternall, not maid with handis, but ane edificatioun or building whilk we sall have from God, becaus the stait and conditioun thairof salbe immuveabill. The difference of theis tua bodeis being laid, he declaireth that thrist and desyre whilk we aught to have to be cled with oure heavinlie building, whilk can not be befoir that this erthlie hous be brokin doun, but becaus that the bodeis of all men do turne to corruptioun, and yit sall not have a lyke resurrectioun, he declaireth the caus in theis wordis, "Gif we be found cled and not nakit." The caus why the reprobat sall ryse in judgement to condempnatioun, is that thay ar found nakit, that is to say, void of Chrystis justice, whilk onlie is the spousing garment to all his Elect, with whilk sa many as salbe found cled, salbe cled also with immortalitie and glorie. And sa the Apostill meaneth, that Godis elect in this lyfe are cled with Chrystis justice be faith, and with the sanctificatioun of his Halie Spreit, and efter, thairfor, sall thay be cled with immortallie and honour. But the reprobat, because in Godis presence thay bring na thing except thair awn filthie nakitnes, thairfoir must thay be cled with confusioun and schame. God illuminat oure

hartis to understand the comfort of the ane, and the danger of the other! Amen.

TUICHING thingis dedicat to Idollis, whairof mentioun is maid in the 8. and 10. chapteris of the First Epistill to the Corinthians, gif the mynd of Sanct Paule be rychtlie understand, thair sall remane na sic doubt as ye find. Whair that ye wryt, in the end of your letter, that ye belevit Sanct Paule had altogether forbidden men to be participant with idolateris, and yit he apeireth to gif thame leif to eat thingis offerit to ydollis, except that ane uthir man admonische the eatter, ye sall understand that thair is tua sortis of participatioun with idolateris; ane, in the act of thair idolatrie, whairof mentioun is maid in the 8. chapter, and that is never lawfull; another, without the act of thair idolatrie, whilk may be in thair private houssis, and that in sum cassis may be lawfull. And that this division must be observit, the text itself sall declair, for in the foirsaid 8. chapter, the generall conclusioun of the Apostill is, That na thing culd excuse thame to be partakeris with divillis, adding the reasone in the 10. chapter, in these wordes: "The thingis whilk the Gentiles do sacrifice, thay sacrifice thame to divillis, and not to God: And I wald not have yow partakeris with the divillis: for ye may not baith drink the cup of the Lord and the cupe of divillis: ye can not baith communicat with the tabill of the Lord, and the tabill of divillis." Whairof it is plane, that the Apostill condempneth all participatioun with idolateris in thair publict conventionis and in the act of thair idolatrie; nether will he admit any kind of excuse in that behalf, as be his strang reasonis do appeir. For when the Corinthians alledgeing thair knawledge, affirming that they knew what the idoll was, to wit, that it was na thing, and that it had na power; and whair farder thay boistit and braggit of Christiane libertie, he repelleth baith with ane reasone, that is, that science and knawledge without cheritie is but dampnabill pryde, and that the libertie of all thingis aught to be reteanit

within the boundis and limitis of edificatioun, sa that a Christiane may not luke onlie what he may do without offence of his awn conscience, but also he is bound to abstaine fra everie thing whilk may offend the weak conscience of another professing Chryst; for els in wounding the conscience of the weak, whilk is, when by the exempill of sic as profess knawledge thay ar incourageit to do aganis thair awn conscience, we do injurie and contumelie to Chryst; and sa be the rule of cheritie will he that all libertie salbe measureit. And leist that the Corinthians suld have alledgeit, amangis us thair is nane weak, for all knaw weill yneugh that in idollis thair is na power, the Apostill answereth, "Yit notwithstanding ye may not be partakeris with thame in thair publict conventionis, becaus thair oblationis and offeringis ar maid to divillis, and I wald not have yow partakeris with divillis."

First, lat us mark and ponder the wordes of the former part, whair he affirmeth that the offringis of the Gentillis wer maid to divillis. It apeireth to be a bold affirmatioun, and sic a thing as nane of his tyme wald have suddanlie beleiveit, for it is not to be thocht that the Gentillis wer sa brutische and beistlie, as that of set purpois thay wald have honourit or served the divill; na, they servit thois whome thay judgeit to be Godis, being sa taucht and instructit frome thair antecessouris. And the maist part of the Christians, albeit thay understude the vanitie of the thing, yit thay judgeit it not sa abominable as that it suld be honouring of divillis, but that it was a thing indifferent, and did not greatlie offend God. But the Apostill doith planelie affirme it to be service of divillis, becaus it was ane honour and service in matteris of religioun, inventit be the braine of man, without the express Word of God; and all sic service and honour is service of divillis, albeit it be offirit to the verie trew and living God. As David efter Moses did affirme, baith the Cannanitis and the Jewis to have offerit thair sonnis and dauchteris to divillis and not to God; and yit thair purpois and intent was to offir

unto God a maist acceptabill sacrifice, in that thay did not spair for his sake the fruitis of thair awn bosome and loynis.

But vane be all the cogitationis of men, sa soone as thay in the leist a jot declyne fra Godis Word. In religioun thair is na middis: either it is the religioun of God, and that in everie thing that is done it must have the assurance of his awn Word, and than is his Majestie trewlie honourit, or els it is the religioun of the Divill, whilk is, when men will erect and set up to God sic religioun as pleaseth thame; and na dout is the Divill honourit, and all that decreith or assisteth sic religioun with thair presence, or manteineth it with thair substance, ar honoureris of the Divill (as the Apostill plainlie affirmeth), for thair presence, and thair daylie support for mantenance of sic religioun, is a declaratioun of thair consent with thame in opinioun. And sa will the Apostill, that in any case thay absteane fra the societie of idolateris in the act of thair idolatrie, whilk except (yf we luke to be partakeris with Chryst), we maun also observe; but this I defer unto mair opportunitie.

Thair was ane uthir participatioun with idolateris, the whilk the Apostill doith not altogether condempne, whilk appeireth to be this: Efter thair solempne sacrifices, commounlie thay maid bankettis, to the whilk thay callit thair familiaris, not in publict assemblies, but in thair privat houssis, whilk thing of the text is plane to be collectit. For whair the Apostill sayith, "If any of thois that sit with yow admonische yow that the thingis whilk ye eat wer dedicat to idollis, then aucht ye to absteane." Heirof I say, it is plane that this was done in thair privat houssis, and not in the actioun of idolatrie in the commoun assemblie. For what neidit any to have gevin advertisment that meattis had bene offerit to idollis gif thay had bene in the act of idolatrie, whair all thingis wer offerit and presentit befoir idollis, and to thair service. To thois particular assemblies, I say in privat houssis, whair na idolatrie was opinlie usit, Paule permitteth thame to ga, gif thay have pleasure, and will sa to do. And yit in giving his permissioun, he apeireth to schaw his

mynd rather to be that thay suld not ga, nor that thay suld keip company with thame. For in theis wordis that he sayeth, "Yf ye will do," he obscurelie meaneth, that he rather wald approve the mynd of thois that altogether did absent frome all company of idolateris, not of thois that usit familiaritie with thame. But yit becaus it was a thing pertenyng to the commoun societie of men, he wald not altogether forbid it.

But now lat us considder what precept he giveth to sic as ga to feist or banket with infideillis; first, he sayeth, "Whatsoever is put befoir yow eat, disputting nothing for conscience' sake." In whilk wordis the Apostill declareth the libertie of a Christiane as touching meit and drink, to wit, that na meit ressavit with sobrietie and thanks geving unto God can defyle the conscience of man, howbeit that it hath bene prophanit, in that it hath bene offirit to ydollis. And in this apeirantlie he wald remove sic doutis as belyke wer risin amangis the Corinthians, that is, Whether meittis offerit to ydollis did contract be the oblatioun any filthines? Or yf thay did not defyle be thame selves the conscience of Chrystians eating the same? Neither is it to be wonderit at, albeit weak consciences did find in sic cassis a dout, considdering that sum whilk pretendit greit leirnyng and knawledge in Godis Word many yeiris efter, did affirme, that thingis offerit to idollis culd never be usit amangis Christians without danger of conscience; yea, sum feirit not to say, that thay had rather die of famyne and hunger then to eat of that whilk was prophanit in the sacrifice of ydollis. And in verie deid, God apeireth in his Law to have had in great detestation all that (how precious and necessar) whilk anis had maid service to the Divill in idolatrie. For the Lord commandit the haill citie of Jerecho to be distroyit, and na part of the substance of the sam to be reservit; whilk sentence he also pronuncit aganis everie citie that sall revolt from God bak to idolatrie. And farther, commandeth his pepill to break doun the alteris, to destroy groves, to stamp to pouder and to scatter in the wind, the gold, silver, and mettall whairof the idollis

and veschellis apperteanyng to thair service was maid. Whairby, as befoir is said, God declaireth that he haldeth in abominatioun not onlie the idolateris, but also the idollis and all that aperteane to thame. But heir the Halie Gaist, by the Apostill of Jesus Chryst, removith frome us all sic doubtis as did trubill the Corinthians and sum of the ancient Wrytteris, [telling] them, saying, "Whatsoever is sald in the market, eat of it; yea, whatever is put befoir yow, evin in the houssis of the unfaithfull, eat of it, feiring nothing the defylling of your conscience; for the earth is the Lord's, and the plenitude of the same:" as the Apostill wald say, the benedictioun whilk God hes gevin to his creatures to nuriss and feid the bodeis of men, and this frie libertie that he hath grantit to his children to use the same, can never be prophanit, nor yit restranit by the iniquitie of men, or by thair wickit fact. Trew it is, that in sa fer as in thame lyeth, thay, that is the blind and wickit idolateris, bring upon the creatures whilk thay abuse the curse and maledictioun of God, in sa mekill as thay caus thame serve aganis his glorie and honour; but this curse doith the benedictioun whilk we ressave be Christ Jesus quenche, utterlie abolische, and take away; evin as it doith the curse and maledictioun of the haill Law, sa that oure conscience is set at fredome in the libertie of the Gospell, whilk pronounceth all thingis to be cleane to the cleane, and heirin have we great comfort and quyetnes to our conscience; for gif we suld stand in doubt whether that the creatures may contract any filthines be the abuse of thame in the handis of other men, thair suld na thing be cleane to us in earth; for what creature doith not the wickit abus, and compelleth the same to serve the Divill and all iniquitie; but the former abuse can not mak it uncleane unto us, gif that oure hartis be cleangeit and purgeit be faith. And heirin have we great caus to prais the bounteous liberalitie of our God, wha sa aboundantlie provydeth for his children, and sa mercifullie dealleth with thame, that the same creatures whilk the ungodlie do abuse to thair condempnatioun, doith his

Majestie sanctifie and bliss to the halie use and necessarie sustentatioun of his deir children.

But now lat us considder the exceptioun of Sanct Paule, saying, "But yf any man say unto yow, That it was offirit unto idollis, eat not for him that hes schawit it, and for his conscience: not for thy conscience, I say, but for the conscience of the other," that is, of him that hath gevin the advertisment. In whilk wordis the Apostill meaneth, that I aucht not onlie to have respect to my awn conscience in the presence of God, but also unto that whilk may hurt and offend my weak brother; sa that gif my brother judge me to offend in sic cassis as he giveth to me advertisment, I am oblissit to absteane fra the same, for the rule of cheritie doith bind me to that obedience, and will in na wyse suffer that I offend my brother. Yf without offence of God I may avoid it, as in absteanyng fra a small portioun of meit, I easelie may, for as the same Apostill sayith in another place, Neither am I the better yf I eat, neither the worse yf I absteane; and this, I trust, be the mynd of the Apostill, how far, and in what cassis we may accompany infidellis and idolateris, and how not. In the actioun and tyme of thair idolatrie we never may accumpany thame; but in sa doing we approve their abominatioun, and sa blaspheme we God and disprove his trew religioun. In thair privat houssis we may be with thame at tabill and mutuall communicatioun, sa that in oure lyfe, conversatioun, reasonyng, and talk, (yf any questioun of religioun chaunce to be proponit,) we declair that we ar professouris of Chrystis treuth, and enemyis to all superstitioun. For gif God requyre the same obedience in us that his Spreit, speiking in Sanct Paule, did requyre of the Corinthians, we man not only absteane fra the commoun assemblies of idolateris in the tyme and place of thair idolatrie, but also gif we chance to convene in thair privat houssis, and thair the idolateris set befoir us the remanentis of thair idolatrie, that is to say, do pra[ise], defend, and advance thair dampnable superstitioun; and yf thair be in com-

pany with us sic as do not perfytlie understand the treuth, we ar bound and oblissit to declair oure selves not to be mainteneris of sic abominationis, for that requyreth Sanct Paule when he commandeth the Christiane to absteane fra eatting of meit for the caus of Him that hath admonissit him.

Now, Sisteris, judge ye give this text giveth us any libertie to pollut oure selves with idolatrie, or to be present with idolateris what tyme thay ar at thair idolatrie; na, rather it doith condempne us becaus we cry not out in the commoun streitis against idolateris, when we sie oure weak brethrene led in blindnes for lack of instructioun: this mekill for this tyme. Now, Sisteris, rejoise in the Lord and eschew iniquitie; be not aschamit of Christ Jesus in the middis of this wickit generatioun; stryve with violence aganis the assaltis of your enemyis; give na place to flatteries, for the visitatioun of the Lord aprocheth. As I am zealous over yow, sa stand I in great feir leist ye faynt in the day of this your battell. But, deirlie belovit in the bowellis of Chryst Jesus, remember the schortnes, yea, the vane vanitie of all that is heir in the earth, and gif ye have sliddin be infirmitie, delay not to ryse agane. O, Sisteris, to sleip in syn, and especiallie in abnegatioun of Chryst Jesus, is the way to perditioun, and thairfoir aryse betyme and renew the battell, and strenth, with pacience, salbe granted unto yow; yea, victorie and triumph be Him that hath overcum. Yf any wald persuad yow that ye may have felowschip with Chryst, and yit notwithstanding that we may do in externall thingis as the blind of the warld doith, beleive thame not, for liaris thay ar and blindit be the father of liaris, the Divill, not onlie to thair awn destructioun, but also to the destructioun of all sic as sall beleive and follow thair deceavable persuasionis.

Love maketh me fervent, and lack of tyme and opportunitie schort and imperfyte. The grace of oure Lord Jesus rest with yow, now and ever. Amen.

Yours knawin,

JOHNE KNOX.

XXXII.

TO HIS LOVING SISTER, MISTRES ANNE LOCKE, WIFE TO MR HARIE LOCKE, MERCHAND, NYGH TO BOW KIRK, IN CHAIP-SYD, IN LONDOUN.

The perpetuall incres of the Halie Spreit for Salutatioun.

As the haistie departing of the messinger maid your letteris (as ye wryt) breif, so doith it myne imperfyt and rude; for at nyght I ressavit thame, and I being to occupy the publict place upon the morrow the messinger was to depart, so that either he must have departit without any significatioun of my remembrance toward yow, or ellis with theis nothing to purpois. Tuiching your trubillis (spirituall I mene) feir not to be plane with me, and so faithfullie as I wold that God suld distribut to me in my necessitie, so will I indevour my self to communicat with yow what his Spreit doith teache me within his most sacred Word. In the mentyme, I am assureit that ye ar not destitut of his Halie Spreit, for it floweth and giveth witnes of it self in your grevous complaynt and ernist prayer. Easie it is to think weill of God, to pray and to promeis to our selves all gudis thingis of his handis, when that his strength uphaldis us. But when he apeiris to leif us a litill in our awne weak corruptioun, and to schaw his face angrie aganis sin, then to seik unto his promissis, then to call upon his help, and to appeill him as it wer that he declair himself a trew, mercifull, and benyng Father towardis us, is the greattest glorie that we can gif unto him; yea, it is to overcum him, and to be victour over him be his awn strenth, whilk albeit we feill not in the present combat, no more than Jacob did in wressilling with the Angell, yit sall we find the comfort of it when the storme is a litill asswageit. For how is it abill that we suld call upon him for help whome we think armit to our distructioun, except that the secreit power of his Halie Spreit moveit us thairto; in suche

cassis hypocrisie hath no place, but the sore bruisit heart powreth furth the angusche in the bosome of Him whome we confess onlie abill to remedie us. But of this matter, allace! I may not now wryt.

Ye wryt that your desyre is ernist to sie me. Deir Sister, yf I suld expres the thrist and langoure whilk I haif had for your presence, I suld appeir to pass measure. To haif sene yow in prosperitie it wes to me, no dout, comfortabill, but now yf it sall pleas God that I suld sie yow in theis most dolorous dayis, my comfort suld be dubled, for in prosperitie in the middis of mirth, my hart quaikit for the sorrowis to cum; and sum tymis I sobbit, feiring what suld becum of yow. But now to sie yow tryit a litill under this cross, wald caus my hart greatlie to rejose. Yea, I weip and rejoise in remembrance of yow; but that wold evanische by the comfort of your presence, whilk I assure yow is so deir to me, that gif the charge of this litill flok heir, gatherit together in Christis name, did not impeid me, my presence suld prevent my letter.

I have not maid your commendations to the personis specifeit in your letter, except to my mother and bedfallow who hartelie re-salutis yow, be reasone of the suddane departure of the beirer. As tuiching James Young,[1] he left your Bybill in Scotland, amangis other thingis whairof he maid money; but that is no matter, with the same heart that I send it to you, I will that ye bruke it, using the same to the glorie of God. Gif ye have occasion to wryt to Mr Hickman and his wyfe,[2] your sister and myne, unfeanidlie belovit, salut thame

[1] According to the "Livre des Anglois," it appears that a James Yonge and his wife Anne, were among the persons who came to Geneva early in 1556. The person to whom Knox alludes was no doubt "James .... his servant," who came with him and his family to Geneva on the 13th of September. But the concluding part of the above sentence is not very intelligible, and may have been erroneously transcribed in MS. M.

[2] A letter addressed jointly to Mrs Hickman and Mrs Locke, "merchandis wyffis in London," is previously given as No. XXIX. In that letter, Knox urges them to continue stedfast in the truth, even at the risk of being compelled for Christ's sake to leave their native country.

hartelie in my name, and schaw that I will wryt, as God sall gif opportunitie. Against the merket in Frankfurd, ye sall luk for letteris (gif God please) more large. Remember me, now burdenit with dowbill cairis,[1] in your daylie prayeris unto our God. The grace of the Lord Jesus rest with yow ever.

At Geneva, the 19. of November 1556.

Your Brother,

JOHNE KNOX.

XXXIII.

TO MRS LOCKE.[2]

The perpetuall incres of the Halie Spreit for Salutatioun.

DEIRLIE BELOVIT in our Saviour Jesus Chryst: Gif power and possibilitie wer corespondent to gudwill, my letters suld not be so bair and breif unto yow; but daylie trubles occuring as weill in my domesticall charge, whair with befoir I haif not bene accustomit, and thairfoir ar thay the more feirfull, as in the administratioun of publick thingis aperteaning to the pure flok heir assemblit in Chrystis name, do compell me oftentymes to forget, not onlie my maist especiall freindis, but also my self in sum thingis necessarie to the bodie and corporall health; and thairfoir I dout not but that ye will accept my rude letteris in gud part, till suche tyme as God sall grant me better oportunitie. And in this mene seasone ye sall resave my judgement upon the first Temptatioun of Chryst,[3] whilk I wrait being in

[1] When Knox speaks of himself as "now burdened with double cares," it will be recollected, that on his return to Geneva, in the month of September this year, he was accompanied by his wife, Marjory Bowes, and his mother-in-law, Mrs Bowes.

[2] In the MS., "Mr Lock," an evident mistake of the transcriber.

[3] In MS. M., this letter is immediately followed by Knox's Exposition, or "His Doctrine upon the First Tentations: Mathew, cap. iv. 1 verse"; already printed *supra*, p. 85 to p. 114.

Upon reconsidering the statement given by Field in 1583, of his having received the manuscript from Mrs Anne Prouze of Exeter, (see page 91,) to whom it had been sent by Knox himself, with a letter in the same terms as above, I cannot venture to offer even a conjectural solution of the difficulty, unless "Mrs Anne

Scotland at requeist of some, who befoir, being in great anguische, did confes thame selves sumwhat reclaimed; yea, (as thay said) brocht from the bottome of hell by the doctrine of the same. For first I taucht it befoir I did wryt it. As I can have occasioun, and sum quyetnes, ye may perchance ressave the rest of the same matter, whilk is not yit all compleit; for so did Sathan hunt me, upon the one part, and so did my brethren crave my deutie to be payit to thame, on the other part, that small space was thair grantit to wrytting.

My other letteris, I trust ye haif ressavit or this, in the which ye may persave my estait, whilk also ye may learne of this our Brother, deirlie belovit in the Lord, wha more convenientlie can expone all thingis that be heir than I can wryt. Wer it not that partlie ye ar impeidit be impyre of your heid, and partlie be so gud occasioun as God hath now offirit yow to remane whair ye ar, in my hart I wald haif wishit, yea and can not cease to wish, that it wold pleas God to gyd and conduct your self to this place,[1] whair I nether feir nor eschame to say is the maist perfyt schoole of Chryst that ever was in the erth since the dayis of the Apostillis. In other places, I confess Chryst to be trewlie preachit; but maneris and religioun so sinceirlie reformat, I have not yit sene in any uther place; besydes, Sathan, I confess, rageth aganis the ane and the other, but potent is He that hath promissit to be with us in all suche interprises as we tak in hand at his commandement, for the glorie of his name and for mantenance of his trew religioun; and thairfoir the less we feir any contrare power, yea, in the boldnes of our God we altogither contempn thame, be thai kingis, emperours, men, angellis, or

Prouze," who, having "lived in exile," and being "no young scholar," could be identified with Mrs Anne Locke, Knox's friend and correspondent.

[1] This wish was gratified a few months later, as on the 8th of May 1557, "Anne Locke, Harrie her sonne, and Anne her daughter, and Katherine her maide," arrived in Geneva; but within four days, we also find recorded the death of "Anne, the daughter of Anne Locke, and of Harry Locke her husband."—(Livre des Anglois, pp. 9, 17.)

divillis, for thai salbe never abill to prevale against the simpill treuth of God whilk we oppinlie profess. Be the permissioun of God, thai may appeir to prevale aganis our bodies, but our cause sall triumphe in dispyt of Sathan. Other caussis moveing me to desyre your presence, yea, and the presence of all sic as unfeanedlie feir God, yf possibill wer, I remit to sum better oportunitie. This other letter it will pleas yow to send to Mr Hickman, with my hartlie commendationis to your sister and myne. The grace of the Lord Jesus rest with yow.

At Geneva, the 9th of December 1556.

Your Brother to power,

JOHNE KNOX.

XXXIV.

TO HIS LOVING BROTHER THOMAS UPCHER, INGLISMAN, BE THIS DELYVERIT AT BASILL.

The Lord sall wype all teiris frome the eyis of his Sanctis.

DEIRLI BELOVIT BROTHER in our Saviour Jesus Chryst, be your schort wrytting I persave sumwhat of that battell whilk, during the schort tyme ye war with us, I judgeit yow to fight. More gladlie wold I, yf so had bene the plesure of our Eternall Father, have talkit with yow face to face, than to haif writtin any thing in so intricat a matter, whilk is not sene to the externall eie, nether yit understand what it is, but onlie be suche as experience hath taught, for by mutuall conferrence many thingis may be persaved and discussit, whilk by one man can not be atteanit unto, becaus that in wrytting, man can expres na mair than him self doith feill and conceave; but in reassonyng, he must be compellit to answer the doubtis of his brother, whilk commounlie doith minister more ampill matter than any man doith perceave at the first. Be whilk consideratioun, I was anis moveit to have writtin nothing at all, judgeing it more

expedient, by ane meane or uthir, to haif provokit you to more familiaritie then to entir to wryt, being uncertane gif I suld tuiche the poynt of your inward dolour, anguische, and pane; yit, considdering that the afflictit (as Job doith reassone and compleane) esteameth it na small benefit when he findeth the bowellis of any moveit with compassioun for his pane, I changeit purpois, and thoght gud to scribble theis few lynis, to offer unto yow occasioun efter to be more plane with me, who yf I can not ease any part of your greif, (that is onlie the office of Chryst Jesus be his Spreit,) yit I prais my God I can lament and murne with my brother tormentit. Nothing I knaw to be more dolorous to the hart of the faithfull, then to lack the sensibill feilling of Godis mercie and gudnes, (and the sensibill feilling thairof he lacketh what tyme he fullelie can not rest and repose upon the same,) and yit as nothing more commounlie cumeth to Godis children, so is thair no exercise more profitable for his soldiaris than is the same.

I doubt not but the one and the other of theis is to yow incredibill; for how think ye sall God leif without comfort his chosin children, and what profit can ensew to thame of suche anguisches. But consider, deir Brother, the lamentabill voces whilk the most elect memberis and servandis of Chryst Jesus haiff left to us in testimony of thair battell; yea, of thair anguische and paine. In how many places doith David compleane that God hath forgottin him; that he seith him not with the eie of mercie; that he sleipeth and taketh no respect to his dolour and paine; yea, that he hath forsakin and utterlie cassin him of. Job compleneth that God is becum his enemy; that he setteth his bodie and saule as a butt and mark, whairat he schuteth his arrowis, tormenting the bodie by plagues corporall, and efraying the saule by the terrouris of his judgementis. And Paule, besyd the burdene of his syn, and besyde the angell of Sathan whilk was gevin to buffet him, planelie confesseth that he had battell without and feir and terrouris within; whilk voces and

confessioun doith evidentlie witnes, that thai wer destitut of the sensibill feilling of Godis mercie, as I am assured that everie member of Christis bodie is at a tyme or other. For yf no member doith live but by participatioun of the heid, and yf to Chryst, who is the heid, can none stedfastlie cleif except sic as be dispairit of thair awn strenth, of necessitie it is that by ernist contemplatioun of oure selves we ar brocht to the verie knawledge of oure awn corruptioun, and sa in the end provokit to embrace the remedie whilk is frelie offirit. That this may the better be understand, I say, that what the Halie Gaist did wirk in the hartis of the Israellitis and otheris, to whom Peter maid his first sermon efter the ressaving of the Halie Gaist, by few wordis, and in schort process of tyme, the same, I say, doith God wirk in us his children all the dayis of oure lyfe; for evin as thai wer be the thundering voces of Peter brocht to the sensibill feilling of thair horrible enormitie, wha had murtherit, and consentit to the murthering of the verie Messias promissit; sa ar we, be the bryghtnes of Godis Scriptures, disclosing to us the secreitis of oure awn hartis, brocht to the feilling of Godis wrath and anger, whilk be our manifald offences we justlie haif provokit against us. Whilk revelatioun, dolour, and compugntioun, God sendeth not to us of purpois to confound us, but of verie love, be whilk he hath concludit our salvatioun to stand in Chryst Jesus his Sone; and thairfoir, lest by pryd and fulische presumptioun, whilk, allace! too many haif of thair awn strenth, justice, and merites, we suld refuse or lyghtlie esteame so precious a gift offirit, he suffereth us to prufe our awn forces; yea, he suffereth us to sink doun with Peter, that unfeanedlie we may cry, Succour, Lord. How profitabill this is to us, as no toung can expres, so can not I now haif opportunitie to wryt my weak judgement, neither is it greatlie necessarie that so I do, for sumwhat haif I writtin in that matter in dyvers tractatis; whilk yf ye haif not sene, I will provyd upon your letter that sum may cum to your handis. Be bold upon me, Brother, in all thingis, and abhour not the

holsum cup, most bitter I knaw, but yit necessarie, as I haif said, and whilk ye drink not allone. The mychtie Spreit of the Lord Jesus assist yow to the end.

Frome Geneva, the 1st of August 1557.

Your Brother to power,

JOHNE KNOX.

XXXV.

TO HIS LOVING SISTERS IN EDINBURGH, JANET ADAMSONE AND JANET HENDERSON.[1]

Grace and peace from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Chryst for Salutationis.

BELOVIT SISTER, with maist hartlie commendationis, these few lynis I have scribled unto yow, to lat yow understand that I have ressavit the contentis of your letter. God, the Father of oure Lord Jesus Chryst, make me myndfull of his ample benefittis, whilk he maist plentifullie poureth upon me, and send you, and all that incall[2] his godlie name, suche comfort and mercie, baith in spirituall and temporall thingis, as he hath moveit your hartis to schaw towardis me and utheris afflictit brethrene. In all matteris concerning your conscience, I must at this tyme remit yow to my former letteris, whilk I trust be commoun betuix yow and the rest of oure Sisteris, for to me ye ar all equall in Chryst; and thairfoir I wische that baith consall, exhortatioun, and admonitioun written to any ane of yow, do serve to yow all. In my last letteris to oure sister, Janet, I touchit what dewtie the wyfe aucht[3] to the husband,

[1] Although the name of Janet Henderson is added in the MS., the letter was evidently addressed to Janet Adamson. She was the wife of "Maister James Makgill of Rankeillour Nether, Clerk of our Soverane Lordis Registrie," who died 16th October 1579. Janet Adamson, his relict, and Mr James Makgill, his son and heir, were his executors.

[2] Call upon, invoke.

[3] Aucht, owes.

and thairfoir I provydit that this oure Brother suld reasone the same matter with Mr Calvin. Let my letter be considderit, and let him faithfullie report, and doubt not but he will, his ansuer in that and uthir particulare articles; and sa I trust ye sall fullie understand what God requyreth of yow. God grant me his Spreit to obey your maist just petitioun: for prayer is not alwayis in the power of man. Your husband is deir to me, for that he is a man indewit with some gude giftes, but mair deir, for that he is your husband. Charitie moveth me to thrist his illuminatioun, baith for his comfort, and for the trubill whilk ye susteane be his coldness, whilk justlie may be callit infidelitie.

But, deir Sister, the Prophetis of God are oft impeidit to pray for sic as carnallie thay lufe unfeanedlie. This I wryt, not that any sic thing I find as yit within myself, but that I wald adverteis yow that I dar promeis nothing whairof the performance is not within my awn power. Yf God will have yow exercisit under that kynd of croce, whilk is maist bitter, to wit, to have your heid[1] apoyntit to yow be God for your comfort, to be your enemye, with pacience ye must abyd his mercifull delyverance, determining with your self never to obey manifest iniquitie for the pleasure of any mortall man; whilk gif ye do, your teiris salbe turnit into joy, and the bitternes of your dolour in sweit comfort, whilk now cannot be felt. The God of comfort and consolatioun assist yow with his almyghtie Spreit valiantlie to fight your battell to the end.

Salut all faithful of acquentance in my name. The grace of oure Lord Jesus Chryst rest with yow.

From Lionis, 1557.[2]

Your loving Brother,

JOHNE SINCLAR.

(This was his mother's surname, whilk he wrait in tyme of trubill.)

[1] "Your heid," your husband.

[2] This date, like the explanation of the signature, here printed in italics, is evidently a subsequent addition by the transcriber of MS. M.

XXXVI.

To Mistris Guthrie, Janet Hendersone.[1]

It is the Lord that giveth strength to the febill.

Albeit I have no particular matter to wryt unto yow, belovit Sister, uther than I have expressit in my uthir wryttingis, yit I culd not refrane to wryt theis few lynis to yow in declaratioun of my rememberance of yow. Trew it is that I have many whome I beir in equall rememberance befoir God with yow, to whome at this present I wryt nothing, ether for that I esteame thame stronger than ye be, and thairfoir thai neid the less my rude labouris, or ellis becaus thai have not provokit me be thair wrytting to recompens thair rememberance. My daylie prayer salbe for yow, that as God hath gevin his Spreit to assist yow, and hath openit youre eyis sa that ye can discerne betuix the gude and the evill, that sa it will pleas his Majestie to confirme in yow the spreit of constancie to the end. The mair that ye feill youre awn weaknes, the mair abill and apt a veschell ye ar to ressave the grace of God, sa that ye anis determinat with youre self to die with Chryst Jesus, rather than to refuis his knawin veritie; whilk albeit it appeir bitter at the first sycht, yit when the necessitie and frute of it salbe considderit, it salbe found pleasing, yea, and delectabill; for statut it is to all men anis to die, but to few it is grantit in so just ane actioun, and with sic honour as to be Chrystis witnes, yea, and to be maid lyke unto him self. Gif we suld ernistlie considder

[1] Janet Henryson or Henderson was the wife of Alexander Guthrie, Clerk of the City of Edinburgh. She must have survived her husband, who died 23d of August 1582, as "Mr James Lowson, minister, his gude son, *Jonet Henryson* his spous, and Alexander Guthrie his lawfull son," were the executors of his will.

the frute that sall follow a transitorie and a momentarie pane, as St Paule calleth the afflictionis of this lyfe, thai suld not so greatlie affray us. The frute is callit lyfe everlasting, the sicht of God, and the fulnes of all joy. All theis ar promissit for the suffering of a moment, gif it be compareit with tyme without end; and thay ar promissit be Him wha can not dissave us. Allace! then, why feir we so greatlie as that thair wer na treuth in God, or yit recompens for the battell or travell of the Just?

Gif any object, I follow not the counsell whilk I gif to uthiris, for my fleing the contrey declaireth my feir; I answer, I bind na man to my exampill; and yit I trust to God that I do not expressedlie against the Word, whilk God uttereth be me. Gif the lufe of this lyfe, or the feir of corporall deth, causit me to deny the knawin veritie, or to do any thing in the eyis of men, whilk mycht seame for feir to favour ydolatrie, then wo unto me for ever, for I wer nathing but a tratour to Chryst and his religioun. But gif my feir be sa measurit, that it compellis me not to commit open iniquitie, then do I na thing aganis my consall, whilk is not myne but the express commandement of Chryst Jesus, commanding us to forsake oure selves and to follow him. Yf we knew, I say, what comfort lyeth hid under the feirfull cross of Chryst, we wald not be sa slak to take up the same. Yf we knew that lyfe is bureit with Chryst in his grave, we wald not feir to ga and seik him in the same. We prais and extoll the martiris and sanctis whilk by afflictionis hath overcum this warld, and yit we having the same occasioun offirit, do flie frome the battell; yea, and allace! do agrie with oure enemyis befoir the battell approche. Call ernistlie and incessantlie for the assistance of Godis Spreit, deir Sister, and determinate with your self to suffer with Chryst Jesus, and then sall ye feill a comfort according to the promeis of Christ Jesus. My awn motioun and daylie prayer is, not onlie that I may visit you, but also with joy I may end my battell amangis yow. And assure your self of that, that when

ever a greatter number amang yow sall call upon me[1] then now hath bound me to serve thame, that be his grace it sall not be the feir of corporall punisment, nether yit of the death temporall, that sall impeid my cuming unto yow.

I have writtin ane larger letter to the gentilman of my last acquentance within that contrie, whilk partlie come be your acquentance and occasioun, and I have joynit it with theis your letteris, that by yow it may cum mair surelie to his handis. I pray yow tak pane in that behalf. The matter is suche, that I wald all suld understand of it; thairfoir do as ye think expedient. Salut hartlie my familiaris; my mother and wyfe salut yow. The grace of oure Lord Jesus Chryst rest with yow.

From oure toun, the 16. of Marche 1557.[2]

Your Brother,

JOHNE SINCLAIR.

XXXVII.

TO HIS SISTERIS IN EDINBURGH.

Grace, mercy, and peace frome God the Father of oure Lord Jesus Chryst, with the perpetuall incress of the Halie Spreit for Salutations.

THE chosin weschell of Chryst Jesus, St Paule, apoyntit to his ministrie and preaching, not be man, but be the imperiall voce of the Sone of God speiking unto him from heavin, aschamit not to confess (deirlie Belovit), that albeit he had ane ernist zeall and desyre to have visitit the congregatioun of

[1] As the first invitation of the Lords to Knox for his return to Scotland, only reached him in May 1557, this letter may, without hesitation, be assigned to March 1557–8.

[2] "Oure Toun," is undoubtedly Geneva; and the date, 1557–8. See previous note.

Thessalonica in thair greatest necessitie, that yit he was impeidit be Sathan of his jurney and purpois.

It may appeir marvalous strange at the first syght, that Sathan suld have sic power to impeid sic gude and godlie a work whilk the pepill desyrit sa ernistlie. Na congregatioun was mair deir to him nor that was, for that he had begotten thame to Chryst, efter that he was afflictit, mockit, and rejectit in many uthir places; yit thay notwithstanding receavit the Word with sic joy and gladnes of the Halie Spreit, that thay wer ane ensampill to all the faithfull in Macedonia and Achaia, for thair faith, obedience, and constancie, was brutit and praisit in far contreis. This thair promptnes and readie obedience to receave Chrystis Evangell, whilk than in many places was dampnit as a pernicious and wickit doctrine, moveit the Apostill unfeanidlie to love thame. And moreover, schort efter his departure fra thame, Sathan did rais up great truble and scharpe persecutioun aganis the faithfull in that citie, evin be thair awn companionis, freindis, and contremen, sa that lufe callit upon the ane part for his presence, and thair afflictioun on the uthir syd requyreit his assistance in that thair suddane battell. And yit doith he confess, that Sathan did impeid him, efter that he had attemptit once agane to have visitit thame.

This, I say, may appeir verie strange at the first syght. But gif we sall merk and considder, deir Sister, that God sumtymes dois humill his maist faithfull servandis, disapoynting thame of thair awn interprysis, whilk thay not the less have purposit for promoting of his glorie, we sall ceas to wonder; and begyn to magnifie the providence of our myghtie God, wha onlie disposeth the tymes, and allane knaweth the caussis why he not in all thingis satisfies the desyres in this mortall lyfe of his deirest children. Assuredlie Paule ernistlie thristit to have bene with thame in the tyme of thair battell, to have confirmit thame in the doctrine whilk befoir he had taucht; and thair estait (as said is) requyrit his comfort, yea, in thair hartis thay did sair lament and bewaill

his absence. But the desyres of neither partie was grantit when thay maist requyreit. But the journey of the Apostill was stoppit be Sathan, not in his awn persone, but by his suppostis[1] instrumentis of iniquitie, wha continewalie did labour to stop the wark of the Evangell, and thairfoir did oftin ly in wait for the Apostill, seiking his distruction, as the diligent reider of the Actis of the Apostills may easilie understand. This impediment maid unto him be sic as did trubill him, did he call the work of Sathan, saying, "I have purposit anis and againe to have visitit yow, but Sathan hes impedit me." Not that Sathan be himself, or the wirking in his obstinat souldieris, hath or can have any power to impeid the course of Chrystis evangell, or yit to withhald spirituall comfort fra the afflictit, but in sa far as it is permittit to thame and him, be the permissioun of God, to trubill the elect for a tyme.

Fulischnes, presumptioun, and arrogance it wer to me to compair my self with that maist excellent instrument of the Lord Jesus, in zeall towards the promoteing of Christis glorie, or yit, lufe towards the salvatioun and comfort of my brethrene. Na, allace! as my hart is corrupt, and the hipocrisie thairof, in many thousand caisis, hid fra my self, sa is my zeall cald and my lufe nathing, gif it salbe tryit be the rycht touche-stone. Onlie this dar I say, that sumtymes (seldome, allace!) I feill a sob and grone, willing that Chryst Jesus mycht opinlie be preachit in my native contrey, with a certane desyre that my earis myght heir it, althocht it suld be with the loss of this wreachit lyfe. And of verie purpois to haif visited yow did I leif this Congregatioun heir, and also the familie committit to my particular charge; but the cause of my stop do I not to this day clearlie understand. I maist suspect my awn wickitnes, wha am not worthie of sa greit a joy and comfort, as to heir Chryst Jesus trewlie preachit, whair my hart maist thristeth, be reasone of my former unthankfulnes, notwithstanding the former benefittis whilk I can not deny my self to have ressavit fra the

[1] Adherents, followers.

handis of God in greatter aboundance, than ever could have entirit in my hart to have askit. But what hath bene my inobedience to his Majestie, wha thus hath promotit me, my awne conscience is not ignorant; and thairfoir, I say, justlie may my God not onlie deny unto me that whilk I maist desyre, but also, worthie am I to be depryvit of all his giftis, unles his mercie sall schaddow my offences. And sa, to punish my former unthankfulnes, it may be, that my God maist justlie hath permittit Sathan to put in my mynd sic cogitationis, as did impeid my journey toward you at this present: and thay wer theis; I hard sic trubillis as appeirit in that realme, I began to disput with myself as followeth: Sall Chryst, the author of peace, concord, and quyetnes, be preachit whair weir is proclamit, seditioun engenderit, and tumultis appeir to ryse? Sall not his Evangell be accusit, as the caus of all calamitie whilk is lyke to follow? What comfort canst thou have to sie the one-half of the pepill ryse up aganis the other; yea, to jeopard the ane, to murther and destroy the other, but above all, what joy sall it be to thi hart to behald with thi eyis thi native contrey betrayit in the handis of strangeris, whilk to na manis judgement can be avoydit, becaus that thay wha aucht to defend it, and the libertie thairof, ar sa blind, dull, and obstinat, that thay will not sie thair awn destructioun? Theis, and mair deip cogitationis, sa did, and yit do trubill and move my wickit hart, that as I was without comfort, sa was I almaist without consall, not onlie in that matter, but also in matteris of smaller importance.

I grant, that nane of theis dangeris whilk ar befoir expressit, ar any sufficient cause or excuse why that I suld not hasard all for the manifestatioun of Chrystis glorie; for gif the Apostillis had lukit to any of theis, thay suld never have preachit Chryst; for all sic trubillis, and mair grevous also, did ensew the publicatioun of his Gospell. And it is foirspokin, that sa it must be also to the end of the warld; for alwayis must the reprobat, the children of this warld, have sum pretext of excuse, why that they reject the lycht whilk is offerit. But thairfoir must not

the messingers of God desist fra thair office. And thairfoir, I say, I knaw that na cogitatiounis can excuse me befoir God; for my conscience beireth record, that the salvatioun of my bretheren aucht to be sa deir unto me, that it aucht to be socht with the hasard of all that is on earth. But, allace! as the woundit man, be he never sa expert in phisick or serurgerie, can not suddanlie mitigate his awne pane and dolour, na mair can I the feir and greif of my hart, althocht I am not altogether ignorant what is to be done.

It may also be, that the doubtis and cald wryttings of some brethrene did augment my dolour, and sumwhat discorage me, that befoir was mair nor febill; for Sathan is sa subtill, that he can mak the verie elect of God labour and travell for a tyme to stop the preaching of the Evangell. Whilk thing, becaus thay do neithir of hatred aganis Chryst Jesus, nor of malice aganis the glorie of his name, but either unwittinglie, or els of sum carnall affectioun and inconsiderat zeall, is not dampnit, but obteaneth pardoun, and sa is suddanlie removeit, or ellis gentillie rebukit to repentance; as the fulische zeill of Peter, labouring to impeid Chrystis deith, in persuading him to be mercifull to him self; and the requeist of the Virgin, his mother, calling him furth to speik with hir, what tyme he was maist deligent instructing the pepill. I am certanlie persuadit, that whatsoever my brethrene did wryt, did proceid of lufe asweill towardis me, as toward the commoun actioun whilk befoir was intended; but yit, it may be that Sathan did either abuse (God sa permitting for caussis knawin to his wisdome) thair simplicitie and zeall, or els my feir and weaknes, sa that for that tyme my jurney towardis yow was stayit.

But na thing do I sa mekill accuse as my self, and former iniquitie: desyreing yow thairfoir, deir Sister, with all thais that thristis the glorie of Chryst Jesus, to be proclamit amang yow, unfeanitlie to call to God for me, that it wald pleis him of his greit mercie, and for Chryst Jesus his Sonnis

sake, to burie the rememberance of my grevous synis, and sa to reule my hart with his principall Spreit, that fra hence furth I may sa behave my self within his Kirk, that my lyfe be na sclander to that doctrine whilk I profess. And I will not ceas to call for yow, and for the faithfull in theis quarteris, that day be day ye may increas and grow in faith, zeall, lufe, and pacience; strenthnit be the mychty power of the Halie Gaist, with sic vertew and force, that na assaltis of Sathan, na terrour of deth, nor flattering promissis of transitorie lyfe, move yow fra the stabilitie of that whilk anis ye have professit; but that constantlie ye may continew to the end, leiffing unto your posteritie sic testimony of your perfyt faith, that in yow thay may have occasioun to glorifie God, in that it hes pleasit his godlie Majestie, be your patience, to minister and offir unto thame the lycht of salvatioun. And gif theis thingis ye sall earnistlie ask of God, to be grantit unto yow for the glorie of his awn name, and for the merittis of his onlie weilbelovit Sone Jesus, then whatsumever shall becum of my wrechit karcas, I am maist certanlie persuadit, that the invincible power of Him wha hes commandit his Evangell to be preachit to all realmis and nationis, sall performe that gud work whilk he hes begun amangis yow, to the prais and glorie of his greit mercie, and to your eternall comfort, be the meanis of oure Lord Jesus Christ: whais Omnipotent Spreit rest with yow, now and ever.

Salute hartlie, in my name, Mr David Sinclar, with utheris of faithfull acquentance. Superfluous I thocht to wryt to everie ane particularlie; for I suppois that ye will not spair to communicate whatsoever ye ressave, with sic as may have profit or comfort thairby. The grace of oure Lord Jesus Chryst be with yow.

Frome our toun,[1] the 16. of Apryle 1558.

Your Brother,

JOHNE SINCLAR.[2]

[1] Geneva: See p. 248, note 2. [2] See p. 245.

LETTERS

TO HIS BRETHREN,

AND THE LORDS PROFESSING THE TRUTH

IN SCOTLAND.

M.D.LVII.

THE following Letters were written by Knox when placed in a peculiarly embarrassing situation. While he was actively engaged in his ministerial duties, two of his friends, James Sym and James Barron, burgesses of Edinburgh,[1] arrived at Geneva, in May 1557, and brought the following letter from the Earl of Glencairn, Lords Lorne and Erskine, and the Prior of St Andrews, inviting him in their own name, and in that of their brethren, to return to Scotland.

"*Grace, Mercie, and Peace for Salutation.*

"DEARLIE beloved in the Lord, the Faithfull that are of your acquaintance in these parts, (thankes be unto God,) are steadfast in the beleefe wherin ye left them, and have a godlie thrist and desire, day by day, for your presence agane. If God will move you,[2] we will heartilie desire, in the name of the Lord, that ye will returne againe unto these parts, where ye sall find all the faithfull ye left behind you, not onlie glaid to heare your doctrine, but also readie to jeopard their lives and goods, for the setting fordward of the glorie of God. Albeit the Magistrats in this countrie be as yit but in the state ye left them, yit at the writting heirof, we heare of no farther crueltie to be used, than was before. We rather beleeve, that God will augment his flocke, because we see daylie the Friers, enemies to Christ's Gospell, in lesse estimation, both with the Queen's Grace, and with the rest of the Nobilitie of our realme. This, in few words, is the minde of the faithfull present and absent. The rest of our mindes this faithfull bearer will shew you at

[1] Some notices of Sym and Barron may be found in vol. i. pp. 248, 268, note 2, and vol. ii. p. 322, note 7.

[2] "Quhilk, gif the Spreit of God will sua move and permitt tyme unto yow, we will," &c.—(Vol. i. p. 267.)

lenth. Thus, fare ye weill in the Lord. At Stirline, the 10th of Marche, 1556 [1556-7.]

Sic subscribitur, GLENCARNE.
LORNE.
ARESKINE.
JAMES STEWART."[1]

When he submitted this letter to Calvin and the other ministers, they, with one consent, gave it as their opinion, "That he could not refuse that Vocation, unless he would declare himself rebellious unto his God, and unmercifull to his country." Knox accordingly returned for answer, that he should visit them, with all convenient expedition, "so soon as he might put order to that dear flock which was committed to his charge."

With this intention, in the end of September, Knox took an affectionate farewell of his people, and leaving his family in that city, he reached Dieppe on the 24th of October. There he received tidings which filled his heart with grief, leading him to the persuasion that the Lords had repented of their invitation, and that many of the professed adherents to the truth had drawn back, or become faint-hearted in the cause. Under these feelings, he wrote the letter dated on the 27th of that month, which, as it is embodied in his History,[3] need not here be repeated, as the copy in Calderwood[4] is evidently transcribed from the same source, and the original is not preserved. In this letter, Knox refers to his own situation, having, he says, upon the advice of "some of the most learned and godly in Europe," complied with their invitation, and left his family and flock, he had come so far on his journey, waiting for the first vessel that should sail for Scotland. While he upbraids them for their timidity and inconstancy, he, at the same time, admo-

[1] The above copy is here given from a collation of the MSS. of Calderwood's History. It differs very slightly from the letter as preserved by Knox himself. See vol. i. p. 267.

[2] Ib. p. 268.

[3] See vol. i. p. 269.

[4] History, vol. i. p. 320.

nishes them of the unspeakable importance of the enterprise to which they had already committed themselves; and in furtherance of this cause, he asserts they ought to hazard their own lives and fortunes, in order to deliver their brethren oppressed and held in spiritual thraldom.

In the expectation that he might receive more favourable tidings from Scotland, he continued at Dieppe. Owing to the uncertain and interrupted communications between the two countries, it is quite possible that Knox's acceptance of the invitation had not been fully made known to the Protestant Lords; but we may infer that this letter had reached Edinburgh by the beginning of December, and that its earnest and touching appeals were not without effect. We at least find, that on the 3d of December 1557, after consultation had been held by the leading members, that a common bond or engagement was drawn up and subscribed by them, in which they agreed anew to adhere to that cause, and use their utmost endeavours in advancing the Reformation.

Of this engagement Knox necessarily remained in ignorance, when he addressed the following letters, Nos. II. and III., on the 1st and 17th of December. The one was to his Brethren, in general, being an enlargement of a previous letter, which, like some others, probably had never reached its destination; as he states, that in answer to his letters he had received none since the month of May. The other, to the Lords, is written in a calmer spirit than that of October. It contains such counsels as he thought might animate and encourage them; and concludes with the exhortation, that while they gave all lawful obedience to the constituted authorities, it was their duty, under all circumstances, to provide that the Gospel might be truly preached and the sacraments purely administered.

In reference to his own conduct in abandoning his intended voyage to Scotland, Knox took a more doubtful view after his return to Geneva, accusing himself, in a letter already printed,[1]

[1] *Supra*, p. 250.

of having too readily allowed himself to defer his intended journey. But, as his biographer remarks, "Whatever were the secondary causes of this step, I cannot help again directing the reader's attention to the wisdom of Providence, in throwing impediments in his way, by which his return to Scotland was protracted to a period, before which it might have been injurious, and at which it was calculated to be in the highest degree beneficial, to the great cause that he meant to promote."[1]

Knox appears to have remained for some months in France although, on the 16th of December 1557, the Congregation at Geneva did elect him, along with Goodman, "still to continue the Ministers." Dr M'Crie quotes an authority to show that Knox had become one of the pastors of a Protestant church then formed at Dieppe.[2] This could only have been an interim appointment, as he appears to have visited Lyon, Rochelle and other towns, previously to his return to Geneva in the spring of 1558.

[1] M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 205. [2] Ib. p. 203.

LETTERS SENT TO SCOTLAND.

I.

To some of the Nobility in Scotland.

The Spreit of wisdome, constancie, truth, and strenth be multiplied upon you, by the favour of God our Father, and by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

According to my promeis, Rycht Honourable, I came to Deipe, the xxiiij. of October, of full mynd, by the good will of God, with the first shippes to have visited you. . . . .

[See vol. i. p. 269–272.]

Frome Deipe, the 27. of October 1557.

II.

To his Brethren in Scotland.

Grace, mercie, and peace frome God the Father, and oure Lord Jesus Christ, with the perpetuall increase of the Halie Spreit.

Albeit of dyvers letteris writtin unto yow, deirli belovit Brethrene, since the moneth of May last bypast, I have ressavit na answer to this hour, whilk mair I imput to the trubillis of theis

wickit tymes then to any negligence and oblivioun in yow: Yi cuming to Deip for performance of my promeis and satisfac tioun of your requeistis, (yf God so permit,) I culd not but re new sumwhat of my former rude wrytting, the tenour whairo was in effect:

That ye considdering, by the signis foirspokin by oure Mais ter Chryst Jesus, (whilk for the maist part ar now present, the dayis of this maist corrupt warld to be schort, and thair foir the joyfull delyverance of that oppressit and afflicti flock till aproche, may walk in Godis presence, as becumetl his sanctis and chosin children; having your consciences as suredlie groundit upon the frie mercie promissit to the faith full in Chryst Jesus; and also, that your conversatioun amangi men be sic as it becumeth the children of lycht, having a testi mony by your fruttis that your faith is not deid. And as thi is a thing maist acceptabill befoir God, sa is it not a litill ne cessarie in theis maist wreachit and wickit dayis. For, as sum never taking tryell of the ground of thair faith, haif schamfulli sliddin back, to the great offence of many, opinlie denying th eternall veritie of God, the sweitnes and power whairof, be al apeirance, thai never taistit, (whatsoever thairof thai babilli with thair toungis); sa hath the dissolute lyfe of suche as hai professit Chrystis halie Evangell bene occasioun of tuo ex treame evillis: Former, thairby hath the conjurit enemyis o Chrystis treuth takin a boldnes to blaspheme the same as doctrine diabolicall, whilk looseth the brydill to all impietie for the pestilent Papistis perceaving the licencious and inordi nat lyfe of sum professoures, did not onlie judge the haill noum ber to be lykwyse infectit, but also did nether feir nor escham to accuse the doctrine as the principall caus of sic enormiteis And thus, allace! do we expone the sacred and blissit Wor of God till opprobrie and rebuke by oure inordinat lyvis. Th secund inconvenient whilk is ensewit of oure ryatous and lych behavour, is no less to be lamented; for thairby, sum whill began with us to follow God, to profess Chryst Jesus and t

abhour superstitioun, ar declynit frome the sinceritie and simplicitie whilk is in Chryst Jesus; and have separatit thame selves frome the societie and communioun of thair brethrene, in sectis dampnabill and maist pernicious; being bold to affirme, that amangis us thair is no trew Kirk, be reasone that oure lyvis do not agrie with the Word whilk we profess.

Albeit I am not ignorant that nether of theis tuo sortis of men sall eschap scharpe judgement, (except be repentance God spedilie call thame to better mynd and purpois,) yit ought we, deir Brethrene, tak diligent heid that we be not offensive, nether to Jew, nether to Gentile, as we sall heir and, I hoip, considder efter that I have tuichit whairin this last sort of men do erre. God is witnes I am not thair enemye, nether do I wryt of malice towardis any persone; but rather lamenting thair blindnes, I desyre to communicat with thame the lycht whilk God hath offirit and reveillit unto me in Chryst Jesus his Sone. Of sum of thame, I trust, I may witnes, as man may judge of man, that thai have a zeall toward godlines; but, allace! it is not according to knawledge, for thai do stumbill at the same stone which offendit the Jewis.

But to the purpois, that this sort of men fallis frome the societie of Chrystis litill flock, with contempt of his sacramentis and halie ordinances by us trewlie ministred, becaus sum men having knawledge of the treuth, do abuse the sueit libertie of the same, thay ar abusit and deceavit in tuo poyntis: Former, thay do judge and pronunce of the doctrine and religioun by the lives of the professoris. Secundlie, thay requyre a greatter puritie and justice (denying any trew Kirk to be whair vyces ar knawin) than ever was found in any congregatioun since the begyning. Of whilk tuo errouris must neidis follow most horribill absurditeis; for first, yf the lyfe of man, be it gud or be it bad, wer ether assurance, ether yit any just condempnatioun, of any doctrine or religioun, than was the auncient idolatrie of the Gentillis, and the blasphemous Law of Mahomet, to be approvit for gude religioun; and by the con-

trarie, the halie Law and ordinances of God wer and ar to be rejectit as fals and vane; for in the auncient idolatrie, men of most singular vertewis, temperance, and externall justice, did live, as faithfull histories do witnes unto us. And this day, amangis the Turkis, the commoun multitude do live a more strait lyfe in many thingis than Godis Word dois requyre; yea, and sum of thame, as concernyng thair externall behavour, may be judgeit irreprehensibill. But what folie wer it to prove and allow thairfoir thair dampnabill doctrine and fals religioun; and on the other part, what age sall we find, frome Abrahame to Moses, frome Moses to David, and frome David to Chryst, in whilk iniquitie did not abound, yea, evin in the houshald of God. Abraham him self, the father of the faithfull, denyit Sara his lawfull wyfe, whilk, no dout, was a horribill sin; but was thairfoir his religioun vane? God forbid. The Patriarchis movit be invy, sald thair brother; the Israellites, efter delyverance frome Egipt, and efter thai had ressavit the law, fell to idolatrie, grudgit, murmurit, and committit horribill fornicatioun; David was found giltie in adulterie and murther; and finallie, the Halie Gaist doth witnes, by the mouthis of the Prophetis Esay, Jeremie, and of the rest, that the pepill under the maist godlie kingis, and when religioun was in greattest puritie, then, I say, do the Prophetis witnes that the pepill was maist infectit with vyces, and so continewit till the tyme of captivitie; yea, and efter thair reductioun, thair lyves did nothing amend till the dayis of our Savioure Chryst Jesus. But did this commoun iniquitie of the pepill prove or argue the religioun, whilk was establissit be God and was taught amangis thame, to be fals and vane? Far be sic cogitationis fra the hartis of Christianis.

Farther, lat men considder yf it wes lawfull for any man to haif dispysit Godis halie ordinances, apoyntit to be usit in his assemblie, becaus that wickit men wer participant thairof; yea, or yit yf sic as separatit thameselves apart in sectis (as did the Phariseis, Sadduceis, and uthiris) did lack

thair just punisment. Plane it is thay did not; for thay all, in proces of tyme, declynyng from the simplicitie whilk God had approvit be his law and Prophetis, fell in dampnable idolatrie and errouris. Sum arrogantlie pretending to be savit not onlie be the workis of the Law, but also be sic constitutionis as thai thameselves had inventit; otheris denying the immortalitie of the saule, the substance of angellis or spreitis, and the resurrectioun of the flesche; and uthiris contempnyng and refusing halie matrimony. Thus, I say, did God revenge the contempt of his halie ordinances upon sic as wold not humill thameselves under the same; but devyding thameselves frome the societie of his Congregatioun, pretendit to a greater perfectioun than the law prescrybit.

I wald that everie man suld diligentlie mark this argument of the Apostill: "If he (saith Paule) who dispysit the Law of Moses, by the testimony of two or thrie witnesses, did suffer death without mercie, with how greatter tormentis, trust yow, sall he be punissit who tredeth under fute the Sone of God, and esteameth the blude of his testament as a prophane thing?" The Sone of God, who is the wisdom of his Father, hath commandit us to assembill togidder in his name; he hath apoyntit his halie Word to be preachit, and his Sacramentis to be ministred, and to be receavit of suche as profess him to be thair Soverane Lord and Saviour: whilk Sacramentis he hath sanctifeit to us, not as was the Buke of the Law, with the blude of goatis and calves, but with his awn precious blud, anis sched for oure redemptioun; the memoriall and rememberance whairof he hath straitlie commandit us (convenit togidder in his name) to celebrat to his ganecuming. Theis thingis being weyit, do we think that suche as contempn this his precept, withdrawing thameselves frome the Congregatioun, whair thai can not deny but Chryst Jesus is preachit without all mixture, and sacramentis ministred according to his Word, sall eschaip judgement? How the Papistis ar plaguit for the lyke pryd and inobedience, the maist part of men do sie; and evident it is, that

the originall of diversiteis of thair religioun amangis thame inventit had the same end whilk men now seik, to wit, thai wold not stand content with the commoun justice[1] promissit to the memberis of Chrystis bodie be faith in him, but thai wold aspyre and contend for a greatter perfectioun than the commoun beleiveris culd have, and thairfoir did thai devyd thame selves apart, contemnyng Chrystes flock, and ordinances; but to what halines thai ar atteaynit let the warld witnes. I am sure, God is immutabill, and doith na less abhour the sectaries of this age than he hath done thois of the former tymes; and wold God that suche as most brag of perfectioun in theis oure dayis, had not gevin so manifest declaratioun of thair awn blindnes as that thai have done. If any think and object, the Kirk efter Chrystis death, Resurrectioun, and Assensioun, is of greatter puritie and perfectioun then was the Kirk under the Law, for it is callit the halie and undefyllit Spous of Chryst, without spot and blemische, and thairfoir whair vyces do reign, and be opinlie knawin, that thair can not be the trew Kirk; lat the same man considder, that the halie Apostill, yea, the Halie Gaist speiking in him, did salut and acknowledge the congregationis of Corinthus, Galatia, and Thessalonica, for the trew Kirkis of Christ Jesus, in the whilk not the less wer crymis maist grevous—fornicatioun, adulterie, incest, stryfe, debait, contentioun, and envy; yea, sum had declynit and wer bewitchit be fals Apostillis, sum denyit the Resurrectioun, sum wer ydill bellies, and sum affirmit circumcision efter Chryst, a thing necessarie to salvatioun. Trew it is, that the Apostill scharplie reprehendit asweill the wickit lyfe as the erroneous opinionis, affirmyng that sic personis, without repentance, culd not entir in the kingdome of God. But, in the meantyme, he did reverence and acknawledge (as I have said) the sam congregatiounis to be the trew Kirkis of Chryst Jesus; and thairfoir, I say, that nether the lyfe, nether the opinioun of particular personis, is (or can be) either sufficient approbatioun, either yit just condempnatioun of

[1] Or righteousness.

any doctrine or religioun. The iniquitie of man declareth himself to be wickit, but it is not abill to deface the religioun whilk God hath aproved be his expressit Word; for yf sa wer, as befoir I have tuichit, than hath no religion bene sincoir and pure frome the begyning, for that age hath never bene in whilk wickit men did not abound, evin in the bowellis of the externall Kirk of Chryst Jesus; and thairfoir I say, that the lyfe and conversatioun of man is na assurit note, sign, or tokin of Chrystis visibill Kirk. But the substance of that doctrine and religioun, whilk is publicklie preachit and universallie ressavit in any congregatioun, assemblie, or company, doith witness and declair, whether the Spreit of the Lord Jesus doith thair rule the Kirk or not. Whairsoever Godis Word hath supreme autoritie; whair Chryst Jesus is affirmit, preachit, and receavit to be the onlie Saviour of the warld, whair his Sacramentis ar trewlie ministerit; and finallie, whair his Word reuleth, and not the vane fantassie of man, thair is the trew Kirk of Chryst Jesus. From the societie and ordinances whairof (I meane suche as Chryst hes commandit to be usit) aught na man to separat himself, notwithstanding that in the same the dornel and cokill apeir to surmount the wheit and gud seid.[1] But heir do suche as will joyne thameselves to no congregatioun, except with that whilk is perfyt in all thingis, object to us, "But ye have left the assemblie of Papistis, and have gatherit youre selves in companyis apart." I ansuer, "Just caus have we and all men to flie frome the sinagoge of Sathan, not onlie becaus of the wickitness of the lyves of suche as thairin be assembled, but cheiflie becaus that oure soverane captane Chryst Jesus is thairin blasphemit, his sacramentis and halie ordinances being altogither pollutit and prophanit be the vane inventionis of men."

[1] Cockell, or Darnel, is a weed that grows among corn: "Let thistles grow instead of wheat, and cockle instead of barley."—(Job xxxi. 40.) In Virgil we have, "*Infelix lolium, et steriles dominantur avenæ*"—(Georg., lib. i. 154), thus rendered by Dryden:

"No fruitful crop the sickly fields return:
Wild Oats and Darnel choke the rising Corn."

And Shakespeare has, "Want ye corn for bread? 'Twas full of Darnel."

Lat thame convict us and oure congregationis (as thai never sall be abill to do) of theis crymes, or ellis thai sall not eschaip judgement and condempnatioun, becaus thai do dispyse Chryst Jesus and his halie ordinances.

But now, deir Brethrene, lat us returne to oure selves, for albeit that nether Papist, nether the other sort, sall eschaip Godis judgement and vengeance, yit it becumeth us ever to beir in mynd the sentence whilk oure Maister by himself, and his Halie Spreit be his Apostillis, hath pronuncit in theis wordis: "Lat so youre lycht schyne befoir men that thai may sie youre gud workis, and that thai may glorifie youre Father whilk is in heavin." "Be ye halie as I am halie, for I have chosin and apoyntit yow to ga furth and to produce frute." "Ye have not chosin me, but I haif chosin yow, to whome I leif my awn exampill, that ye love ane another." "For yow I pray (but for the warld I pray not) that ye may be sanctifeit in the veritie; and the word and doctrine whilk ye haif hard and professit is the veritie, be whilk ye haif learnit to put of the ald man with his lustis and concupiscensis, and to put on the new man, whilk is according to the image of Him who hath creatit yow to walk in justice and cleanness of lyfe; that ye refusing youre selves, may unfeanidlie studie to obey the gudwill of God, whilk is youre sanctificatioun. Absteanyng frome all filthines and impietie, giving occasioun of sclander and offence to nane, knawing that wo and maledictioun is pronuncit aganis sic as by whome sclander cumeth." By theis and the lyke sentences, deir Brethrene, it becumeth us to considder the excellencie of our vocatioun, and the dew and voluntarie obedience whilk we as children aught to render to sa loving and gracious a Father, who of his frie grace hath callit us frome darknes of errour, and frome bondage of Sathan, to the brycht knawledge of his glorie, and to the glorious libertie of his sanctis, whois kingdome, and glorie, and joy, he hath apoyntit maist assurit and triumphant with Chryst Jesus his onlie belovit. In considderatioun, I say, of this oure glorie to

cum, and of that excellent oure present dignitie, which assuredlie we possess in hope (for evin now ar we the sonis of God althocht oure glorie be hid), aught[1] we with all diligence watche lest that oblivioun and forgetfulnes of oure God and of his kingdome creip in oure myndis; being also cairfull and vigilant in all assaltis, asweill to try and examyne the infallible signis of oure electioun (whilk thing St Peter calleth "the making of oure electioun sure"), tempting yf we stand in faith, and yf oure conscience do beir recorde that in vane we haif not ressavit the graces of God; as also, that we declair befoir this wickit generatioun, be the frutis whilk we produce, what treis we ar, to wit, the frutfull branchis of the verie vine. And in theis tuo poyntis aught oure principall and cheif studie be occupyit, considdering, first, that without faith it is impossibill to please God; and, on the other part, that the eyis of oure enemyis ar ever bent upon us.

The Papistis ar busie to espy oure offences, faultis, and infirmiteis, to the end that, as said is, thai may blaspheme the blissit Word of the eternall God, by whilk is utterit and reveallit to us his fatherlie mercies, godlie consallis, and frie graces towardis us, whilk as thai never taistit, sa may thai not abyd to be preachit to the warld. But as thai sall beir thair just condempnatioun, becaus thai accuse us, not haiting oure sinis, but haiting oure personis and the veritie we profess, sa ar thai not the enemyis maist to be feirit. For the vennoume and malice of Sathan ringeth in all Papistis (for the most part) is now more evident, evin to infantis, than that it can greatlie hurt any, except sic as willinglie, and with appetit insaciabill, do drink the poysone of that harlotis cupe, either for feir of corporall punisment, or els for hoip of warldlie promotioun.

But in the other soit, of whome befoir we haif sumwhat spokin, the craft and malice of the Divill fighting aganis Chryst is yit mair covert, and thairfoir it is mair dangerous and mair to be feirit; for under the colour and clok of mortificatioun of the

[1] Aught, ought.

flesche, of godlie lyfe, and of Christiane justice, thay ar becum privie blasphemeris of Chryst Jesus, supplanteris of his dignitie, and manifest enemyis to the frie justification whilk cumeth be faith in his blude. For sum of thame do not feir to deny Chryst Jesus to be the eternall Sone of the eternall God, and so with Arrius, blasphemouslie denying his Godheid. Sum do affirme that it is impossible but that a man may obey and perfytlie fulfill the law of God in this lyfe, in whilk he may atteane to as great perfectioun of justice as ever Chryst had. Otheris do hald for a sure conclusioun, that Chrystis justice availleth us nathing except that we have a perpetuall justice (as thai terme it) of oure awn; and finallie, the generall consent of all that sect is, that God, be his foirknawledge, consale, and wisdome, hath no assurit electioun, nether yit any certane reprobatioun, but that everie man may elect or reprobat himself be his awn frie will, whilk he hath (say thay) to do gud or evill. The rest of thair opinionis,[1] maist horribill and absurd, I omit at this present, tuiching onlie for your advertisement thois whilk thai think inexpugnabill, and in whilk thai glorie as of maist precious perlis, forgeit be thair awn braynis, and policit be the fynes of thair wittis, when yit in verie deid thai ar but the rottin heresies of Arius and Pelagius, lang ago confutit be Augustine, and by auncient Wrytteris befoir him.

And of suche teacheris or professouris I beseik yow, deir Brethren, to tak heid, for be thame is not onlie the glorie of Chryst Jesus and his dignitie trodin under fute, but also is God in effect denyit to be God. For whosoever gois about to remove frome God, ether yit to call in dout his wisdome and foirknawledge, his justice, power, mercie, gudnes, or frie electioun, goith about, sa far as in thame is, to destroy and call in dout his hale Godheid: for yf thair be any thing whilk he did not caus, yea, whilk he did not also predestin and apoynt, then lackit he wisdome and frie regement; or, yf any thing was ever done, or yit efter this salbe done, in heavin or in erth, whilk he

[1] The persons here alluded to, went under the general name of Anabaptists.

mycht not have impeidit yf sa had bene his godlie pleasure, then is he not omnipotent. Whilk thrie properties, to wit, wisdome, frie regement, and power, denyit to be in God, I pray yow what restis in his Godheid? But far be sic blasphemous and impious cogitationis frome the hartis of sic as hoip to reign in the kingdome with Chryst Jesus. The wisdome of oure God we acknawledge to be suche, that it compelleth the verie malice of Sathan, and the horribill iniquitie of sic as be drounit in sin, to serve to his glorie and to the profit of his elect. His power we beleive and confess to be infinit, and sic as na creature in heavin or earth is abill to resist. And his regement we acknawledge to be sa frie, that nane of his creatures dar present thame in judgement, to reasone or demand the question, Why hes thow done this or that? But the fontane of this thair dampnabill errour, whilk is, that in God thai can acknawledge na justice except that whilk thair fulische brane be abill to comprehend, at more oportunitie, God willing, we sall intreat.[1]

At this present, I thocht it my dewtie, and verie lufe constreaynit me thairto, to advertise yow that Sathan hath sent furth his messingeris almost in all quarteris, to disperse and sawe abrod theis his pestilent opinionis, and thairfoir in the bowellis of Chryst Jesus, I exhort yow to try the spreitis of suche as sall cum unto you. Suffer na man without tryell and examinatioun to tak upon him the office of a preacher, nether to travell amangest the simpill scheip of Chryst Jesus, assembling thame in privie conventionis; for yf everie man sall entir at his awn appetit in the wynyaird[2] of the Lord, without just tryell of his lyfe, conversatioun, doctrine, and conditioun, as sum, mair to serve thair awn bellies then the Lord Jesus, will offir thair labouris, sa na doubt sall Sathan haif his other sup-

[1] This intention, as will afterwards appear, Knox accomplished in his elaborate work on Predestination, entitled, "An Answer to the Blasphemous Cavillations written by an Anabaptist," which was printed at Geneva, after his final return to Scotland, in the year 1560.

[2] "Wynyaird," vineyard.

postis[1] by whome he purposeth to distroy the verie plantatioun of oure heavinlie Father; and thairfoir my prayer is and salbe unto oure God, that in this behalf ye be circumspect, prudent, and warr. For as the matter and business ye haif in hand is heich, and to the advancement of Godis glorie, and to na small comfort and consolatioun of youre brethrene, yf in the same constantlie with godlie wisdome ye proceid, sa sall Sathan be maist vigilant to trubill and impeid the same, be all meanis possibill; the poweris of the erth sall na dout ganestand yow; and the dissolute lyfe and ungodlie behaviour, perchance evin of sum preacheris, may sclander and offend the weak anis in Chryst. But nether of boith (except, as God forbid, yow turne bak frome youre godlie interpryse) do I sa mekill feir as the assalt of Sathan be fals teacheris or dissembled brethrene; for seldome it is that opin tiranny doith utterlie suppres in any realme or province the trew religioun ernistlie ressavit be a multitude. And albeit the ungodlie lyfe of preacheris for a tyme trubill the quyetnes of sum conscience, yit sic is the mercie of our God towardis his awn elect, that be his Halie Spreit he comforteth the simpill, and be the power of his blissit Word, in the end, he confoundith the dissemblit preacher or professour, (I meane him that is the mercinarie, wha seikith the bellie and not the glorie of Chryst Jesus,) sa that nether the opin tiranny, nether yit the clokit and disgysit preacher, can mekill hurt. But dissavabill and fals doctrine is a poysone and vennoume whilk, under the taist and name of veritie, anis dronkin and ressavit, with great difficultie can efterward be purgeit; as the Epistill of St Paule, and the historie of all ageis, entreatting the estait and matteris of religioun, do teache us. Yf, thairfoir, the doctrine and persuasion of any man tend to the exaltatioun and advancement of any justice or perfectioun, except of Chryst Jesus allone; yf any affirme that Christiane justice, whilk is avalabill befoir God, be any uthir perfectioun than remissioun of our sinnis, whilk we haif be

[1] Followers.

onlie faith in Chrystis blude; or yf any promeis suche perfectioun in this lyfe, that unfeanedlie we neid not to say, "Remit to us oure offences, for we ar unprofitable servandis;" and finallie, give any persuad that oure merittis, gud workis, or obedience, be any caus either of our Justificatioun, or yit of oure Electioun, lat him be accursit, suppois that he wer ane Angell frome heavin; for he preachith to us another Evangell then the Sone of God hath reveallit to the warld, and the Halie Gaist hath seillit up to us, be the mouthis and wryttingis of the Apostillis, whilk planlie affirmeth, "That thair is na uthir name gevin to men under the heavin in whilk thai may be saveit, except in the name (that is, in the power and vertew) of Jesus crucifeit, wha is maid to us frome God, justice, wisdome, sanctificatioun, and redemptioun;" be whome allone we have acces to the throne of Godis mercie; as be ane onlie propiciatorie and obteaner of grace to us that of nature be sinfull, the flesche (evin efter oure regeneratioun) ever rebelling aganis the spreit during the travell of this lyfe, in sic sort, that with the Apostill Paule, the rest of Godis children ar compellit to confess, "That in thame, that is in thair flesche, thair remaneth na gude;" and thairfoir eschame thai not to confess (and that opinlie and frome the hart), "That not of the workis of rychteousnes whilk we have done, but of His meir mercie and grace, who loving us when we wer enemyis, did give to the deth of the cross his onlie Sone for us, ar we savit." And farther thai acknawledge, that this salvatioun doith not proceid of our workis, nether yit that it was apoyntit till us in tyme, but that befoir the foundatioun of the warld was laid, did God elect us in Chryst Jesus, that we suld be halie and blamless befoir him be love, by the whilk he loved us evin when we wer deid in sin, and did predestinat us, and frelie chois us to be his inheritouris with Chryst, according to the gud pleasure of his will. Sa that we ar his creatioun, creatit in Chryst Jesus to gud workis, whilk God hath preparit that we suld walk in thame, so that throcht grace, and that be frie and undeservit favour, ar we

saveit, be faith, nether of our selves, nether yit of our workis, lest that any suld glorie. But all the children of God do acknawledge and confess, that salvatioun and the lyfe everlasting ar the gift of God the Father, frelie gevin with Chryst his Sone; as the 24 elders, casting thair crounis befoir him that sitteth upon the throne, with ane voce doith cry, giving glorie and prais to him, in theis wordis: "Worthie art thou, O Lord, to receave glorie, honour, and empyre, for thou was killit and hast redemit us, and hes maid us to oure God priestis and kingis." This doctrine, I say, hath the Halie Gaist seillit up unto us, whilk Sathan from the begyning hath impugnit; but now in theis last dayis most cruellie doith he rage, omitting no occasioun be the whilk he is abill to deface the same, sa that what he can not do be opin tiranny, that he travelleth to bring to pas be fals doctrine and errouris dampnable; that is, Sathan continewallie laboureth to intromedle, and mixe sum what proceiding frome us, besydis Chryst Jesus and his justice, in the caus and matter of oure redemptioun and salvatioun, for nathing to him is mair dispytfull than Chryst Jesus exaltit, trewlie preachit, and constantlie affirmit to be the onlie Saviour of the warld. For that Word of veritie, being the power of God to the salvatioun of all thois that beleive it, is the plane subversioun of his kingdome; and thairfoir he, oure mortall enemye, the ald serpent, persaving his heid to be brusit by the power of Chryst Jesus sa preachit, that he allone may be knawin conqueror, doith now spit furth his deidlie venoume, and ferslie steireth his terribill taill, to the end that he may trubill for a tyme the verrie elect, and utterlie blind, invennoume, and disceave thois whos namis ar not written in the Buke of Lyfe.

But my hoip is gud of yow, deirlie belovit in the Lord Jesus, that evin to the end ye sall continew in that doctrine whilk anis ye haif professit, notwithstanding that the windis of unstabill and disavibill opinions be blowin in your earis; and also, that ye sall proceid and marche forward in the

battell begun, (Remember, I beseik yow, with what conditionis we did first break bread togidder in the name of the Lord Jesus,) whatsoever impedimentis be preparit in yow contrair; that so doing, at the last ye may atteane to the participatioun of that kingdome, the possessioun whairof is not gottin but be the suffiring of many tribulationis. The mychtie power, illuminatioun, and grace of the same Spreit, who rasit frome death the Lord Jesus, the great Bischop of oure saulis, move, illuminat, and inspyre your hartis, sensis, and understandings, that cleirlie ye may behold the length, breid, the hecht and deipnes of that lufe of God our Father, schewit and confirmit to us in Jesus Chryst; and sa lychtin the eyis of your inward man, that continewallie ye may contemplat the unspeakabill ryches of that glorious inheritance, prepareit for sic as beleive and profess him in the presence of men, and of this wickit generatioun; that ye, in deip considderatioun of the same, may contempn and dispyse the disceavabill and transitorie pleasuris that be present, in a sure hoip to possess with the Lord Jesus Chryst thois thingis that be permanent and eternall. Amen.

This letter is mair ampill than was that whilk I sent first, and thairfoir, notwithstanding the copies of the other, I pray yow provyd that the doubill of this be sent to oure brethrene in Kyle, and to utheris that sall requyre it. The Grace of the Lord Jesus rest with yow.

Frome Deip, the first of December 1557.

Your Brother to command in godliness,

JOHNE KNOX.

III.

To the Lords and others Professing the Truth in Scotland.[1]

The secreitis of the Lord ar reveallit to thois that feir him.

The Halie Gaist, be the mouth of David and Salomone, (Rycht Honorabill Lordis,) for tua reassonis, calleth "The feir of the Lord, the begynning of all Wisdome:" First, becaus without the same, all that apeireth to be wisdome perischit, and maist commounlie turneth to the perditioun of thois that ar esteamit and do esteame thame selves most wyse; for wisdome naturall, not reullit nor brydillit be the feir of God, as it is but extreame fulischnes, sa is it a poysone and vennoume maist deidlie, whilk in the end commounlie bringeth the warldlie wyse to warldlie confusioun, as the experience of all ageis haif taucht us; whair be the contrar, the feir of the Lord preserveth his servandis in thair greattest extreamiteis evin befoir the warld. But this is not the cheif caus why the feir of the Lord hath the foirnamit titill; for evident it is, that not onlie the warldlie wyse anis suffer deth and cum to confusioun, but also, as David dois witness, evin thois that altogether be fullis and enrageit with madnes; yea, it is statute to all men anis to die. But becaus that whair the feir of the Lord is anis deiplie graftit in the hart, that thair also is the graceis of the Halie Spreit fromo tyme to tyme addit to the farther instructioun, comfort, and confirmatioun of Godis chosin children in all godlines; thairfoir it is justlie and cheiflie callit "the begynning of wisdome," be whilk man atteaneth to eternall felicitie, and so doith eschaip deth and confusioun. For this is the conclusioun of the Halie Gaist maist certane and infallibill, That whair God of his

[1] Calderwood refers to this as "a prolixe letter to the Lords," and inserts the concluding portion of it in his larger History, vol. i. p. 323.

great mercie and infinit gudnes anis begynnis to tuiche the hart with his trew feir, and as it wer to change it frome the naturall rebellioun to gif unfeanid reverance to his halie Majestie, that thair He will (yea, evin aganis the puissance and rage of the portis of hell) performe the work of oure Redemptioun, to the manifestatioun of his awn glorie, and to the everlasting joy of thois to whome he apoynteth his Halie Spreit scolemaister and instructour.

And albeit that this His favour and fatherlie cair be commoun to all his children in thingis aperteaning to lyfe everlasting, (overie ane receaving sic portioun and measure of his grace as His wisdome knaweth to be expedient for finisching and confirmatioun of that gude work begun,) yit in distributting temporall benedictionis, his Majestie takis maist especiallie cair upon thois whome he hath determinat and appoyntit to be reularis, comforteris, and manteaneris of uthiris. To Joseph he gave not onlie favour in the eis of strangeris in tyme of his bondage, but also in his young age he did schaw unto him maist notabill visionis, to the perfyt understanding and knawledge whairof did nether his father, nether yit him self, fullelie atteane many dayis efter. To Salomone, lykwyse, war superaboundantlie gevin ryches, honour, and warldlie rest, besydis the wysdome whilk he requyrit. And to Daniell, abufe all mortall men of that age, was gevin the knawledge and revelatioun of secreit and hid thingis to cum. Whilk singular priviledgis (in whilk thai did far excell thair brethren) did not sa mekill serve for thame selves as for the commoditie and profit of uthiris, to whome God maid thame instructoris, reularis, defenderis, and stewartis; for the interpretatioun of dreamis and visionis gevin unto Joseph did mair profit the commoun-welth of Egipt than it did serve for his eternall salvatioun; and the same may be said of thois notabill prerogativis gevin to Salomone and Daniell; for be the felicitie of the ane was the pepill of Israell living in his age repute blissit, and be the revelatioun grantit to the othir, is the hale Kirk of God

this day assureit of thingis bypast and that ar to cum; and thairfoir, I say, that sic singular and rare previledges and graces ar gevin to a few for the comfort, instructioun, and defence of many.

But ane thing is to be heir merkit and diligentlie to be observit, whilk is this, that befoir all theis super-excellent graces, we plainlie may persave that the feir of God was plantit in thair hartis. For in Joseph we may espy ane hatred of sin and iniquitie whilk his Brethren committit, in sa fer as he reveillis the same to his and thair Father, whais autoritie he judgeit sufficient to have repressit the same. In Salomone we sie ane desyre of wisdome, whairby he mycht reule and governe with equitie and justice the pepill committit to his charge. And in Daniell doith evidently appeir the horrour and feir that he had to pollut and defyle him self with meittis forbidden be the law of the Lord his God. And this, I say, that the feir of the Lord is the begynning and continewance of wisdome: of Wisdome, I say, whilk is worthie the name of Wisdome, and is the maist singular gift of God gevin to thois be whome he purposeth to work any notabill work to his glorie. But farther must I admonische, that I meane not that thois onlie wha haif theis singular previledges or revelationis of secreit thingis gevin unto thame, immediatlie gevin of God, have in thair hartis his trew feir, and that na uthir besydis hath any motioun thairof; but I meane also, that thai whais hartis God dois sa molifie and move, that with reverence thai resave the consall and admonitionis gevin unto thame be Godis messingeris, and do determyne with thame selves to obey his halie will reveallit unto thame, albeit the same appeir far to pass thair power or ingyne. Thais men, I say, how ignorant that ever thai appeir to be of God, can not be judgeit altogether emptie and voyd of his trew feir, nether sall thai be destitut of wisdome and power to performe tha thingis whilk God requyreth of thame. For in sa fer as Pharo did feir the thingis that wer not sene, and at the consall and commande-

ment of Joseph did mak provisioun for the danger whilk the naturall man culd nether haif beleivit nor feirit; in sa doing, I say, he did declair him self mekill to esteme the messinger of God, by whais spreit, power, and providence war sic thingis not onlie revealit, but also suld be performit and brocht to pass. Whilk thingis I meane, to reverence Godis messingeris, hartlie to embrace and studie to obey the preceptis and charges whilk thai give, to studie also to magnifie God and to mak his providence and wonderous workis knawin unto men, can na man do frome ane unfeanid hart, except that sum spark of Godis trew feir rest in the same. The lyke is to be notit in Nebuchadnezar, who being the golden heid and onlie monarche in the erth in his dayis, eschamit not to stoup and to fall doun (heiring the interpretatioun of his awn dreames) befoir the feit of Daniell, and opinlie to confess that thair was na God wha reuleth the heavin and the earth except the God of Israell. And, moreover, he did not onlie promote Daniell, being a stranger, captive, and prisoner, above all the princes of his realme, but also, at his request, the King promotit till honouris and offices his fellowis, and was beneficiall to the rest of the Jewis than afflictit in his dominionis: Whilk confessioun, obedience, lufe, and liberalitie did, no doubt, spring frome the secreit and hid feir of God whilk was plantit in his hart, and, no doubt, had sum rute in the same, when he appeirit ignorant of God, and greattest enemie to his pepill. What farder graces and commoditeis (not onlie to thame selves, but also to many uther) did ensew this thair obedience, the Halie Gaist doith not conceill. For by the ane, to wit be Pharo, was not onlie his awn pepill fed and preserved in the dayis of famyne, but also be that godlie provisioun maid in his realme was the lyves of many othiris preservit; yea, the lyves of the haill Kirk of God whilk that day was knawin to be upon the erth; I meane of Jacob and his houshald. And albeit that Nebuchadnezar did fall, and in many thingis offend maist horribillie, yit still we find that the mercie of God did sa overcum his malice, that

efter long punisment and dejectioun from all honouris he was restorit agane, not onlie to the forme, reassone, and understanding of man, (of the whilk he was depryvit for a tyme,) but also to his former dignitie, honouris, and impyre, to the great manifestatioun of Godis glorie, and to the maist singular eruditioun, admonitioun, and comfort to uthiris. For what eruditioun and doctrine was preachit to the warld be the publicatioun of his confessioun, and of the maist wonderous work of God declarit upon him, whilk he did notifie to many realmes and nationis [which heirtofoir] wer drounit in idolatrie, and did live without any perfyt knawledge of the liveing God; what admonitioun mycht, and this day may and suld, erthlie reularis and princes ressave be his punisment; and what singular comfort is left to penitent synnaris in his maist notabill restitutioun to honouris agane. The matter, I say, can not be expressit be the wit or ingyn of man; and thairfoir yit agane I say, that whairsoever the trew feir of God is plantit in the heart, that thair sall also efter be addit wisdome and uthir graces, necessarie and profitabill not onlie to the receaver but also to uthiris. But this rute of vertew and wisdome (the trew feir of God I mene) being absent fra the heart, as thair can be na obedience whilk is acceptabill unto God, nether yit any love to his messengeris of any lang continewance, sa can thair be na wisdome to searche and seik for thinges profitabill, nether yit grace to follow Godis will how manifestlie that ever it be reveillit. But rather ar the hailsum consallis and admonitionis gevin for reformatioun of manifest iniquitie, and also for temporall commoditeis and conservatioun of realmes and commounwealthis, not markit nor perfytlie understand, or ellis when Godis messingeris do planelie speik to princes and reularis, thair consallis and admonitionis ar disdanefullie contempnit. The consall, na doubt, of Moses to proud Pharo had bene to the salvatioun of him self and to the saifgaird of his pepill, gyf efter many plaguis he culd haif gevin obedience. But as the sone did lang schyne befoir the blind, so in the end, without

all lycht and wisdome, was he and his armie, in thair cruell rage, drounit be the watteris of the Red Sea.

The admonitioun and counsall of Jeremie to King Zedichias, (althocht it apeirit scharpe, for he commandit him to rander and subject him self in the power of the King who beseigit him,) yet had it not bene a litill profitabill to him and to that commounwelth yf he had obeyit and followit the commandement of the Prophet. But becaus the King and his consall in the end agreit to follow thair awn imaginationis, and sa to rebell aganis God and his messenger Jeremie, the ane and the other, I mene the King and his counsallouris, did taist the bitter cupe of Godis vengeance, whilk sa oft was pronuncit be the mouth of the same Prophet, for the eyis of Zedikias was compellit to behold his consalloris, yea, and his awn sonis slane in his presence, and immediatlie was his awn eis put out, sa that ever [efter] that he never saw lycht nor comfort in earth. Jerusalem was brunt with fyre and the haill land was laid waist, and all this calamitie came upon thame becaus the counsall of God, proclamit be his Prophetis, was mockit and contempnit. And yit in this maist miserabill and universall visitatioun, mercie was schawin to sic as feirit God, and had bene obedient and schawin mercie to his Prophet; for besydis the multitude, whilk at the commandement of Jeremie did subject thame selves to the King of Babilone, and sa was saveit from that present vengeance, Abedmelech, the Black More or Ethiopiane, be whois intercessioun and bald requeist unto the King, the Prophet was delyverit frome death and prisone; and Baruche, the scryb, be whome was writtin and presentit to the Prince and Counsalloris the sermonis and preacheingis of Jeremie; these two, I say, in the middis of that samyn fyre of Godis vengeance whilk consumed many thousandis, found favour and grace, and did obteane thair lyves for a prey.

Theis thingis I breiflie tuiche, Rycht Honorabillis, not sa mekill to instruct yow, as to animate and to incorage yow in that maist godlie work whilk anis ye have purposit. Ye wer of mynd

(and my gude hoip is that so ye yit remane) to jeoparde and hasarde in the cause of Chryst Jesus, and for the delyverance of your brethrene frome this Babilonicall and Antichristiane bondage, your lyveis, your honouris, and whatsoever ye haif ressavit in temporall thingis of Godis handis. This matter ye haif communicattit with me, and I, as I must answer in the presence of the Lord Jesus, hath gevin unto yow suche consall as his Halie Spreit assureit me is for the manifestatioun of Godis glorie, and also to your eternall comfort, what soever flesche and blude do judge in the matter; as in my former letteris moir fullie is expressit. But this your former purpose, and my consall also, notwithstanding, gif the trew feir of God have not sum rute in your hartis, all is vane and labour lost. For of this one thing I will, that assuredlie ye persuade your selves that the fludis sall cum, the windis sall blaw, the stormes and tempestis sall aryse, and with violent rage thai altogether sall assalt your fortress, and than, except ye be buildit upon the sure rock, Chryst Jesus, who hath commandit yow to forsaik your selves and to follow him, impossibill it is that ye can remane constant in your godlie purpois, but in a moment sall your haill building and house be overthrawin; for flesche and blude can not deny the self, nether yit can it be maid abill to indure and abyde the fyre of afflictions, except that it be convictit of the awin infirmitie, and thairfoir be strenthnit and confirmit by the power of ane other. For this ordour dois God maist commounlie keip in apoyntting and sending to battell his best and maist approved soldieris; first, to deject thame frome all confidence whilk thai may haif, ather in thame selves, ather yit in the arme of any man, and thair efter, to erect and rais thame up in boldness of his strenth, and by the frie promissis of his mercie, sumwhat dois he remeid the trubill of thair conscience. And this dejectioun, humiliation, and refusall of thameselves, he worketh baith in conscience and in confidence of warldlie power; he embassis[1] and beateth doun the con-

[1] "Embassis," humbleth, degradeth.

science, openyng the eyis of thair myndis that thai may behald the misereis of thair awn nature, and thair just condempnatioun whilk thair synis deserveth. In deip contemplatioun whairof, God bringeth thame, as it wer, to the portis of hell, to ane unfeaned hatred of thame selves and of sin, (and this is the first entres to the trew feir of God;) but in this estait he leaveth thame not, but manifesting to thame his undeserved love and favour in Chryst Jesus, his onlie Sone; he releveth and sumwhat raseth up thair conscience, sa that in all assaltis thai rest upon his frie mercie. Thus did he beat doun the pryd of Peter and the confidence whilk he had in his awn strenth; and the glorie also whilk Paule had in the justice of the Law; and yet was the ane apoyntit preacher to the Jewis, and the othir cheif Apostill to the Gentillis. And sic as it [pleasit] God to apoynt to delyver his pepill oppressed be warldlie calamiteis, he commounlie doith sa intreat for a lang seassone, to the end that thai haif na cause to glorie in any thing aperteaning to the flesche. For albeit Moses in his youthheid was nurischit in Pharois hous, yit befoir he was knawin to be the apoyntit messinger of God for the delyverance of Israell afflictit, he was fourtie yeiris banisait, yea, and aschamit not to keip the scheip of his father-in-law. The lawe and sempill estait of Gedioun, the contempnit youth and infancie of David, ar not conceillit by the Halie-Gaist, to instruct us; first, that the eye of God in apoyntting of his messingeris, luketh not to suche thingis as the warld maist esteameth; and secundlie, to beat doun the arrogance and pryd of all flesche, that na man glorie of sic workis as God dois work by him whome he hath chosin fra the dounghill (as David speaketh) and placeit him with the princes of his pepill, without all merit or deserving of thame selves, ather yit of any of thair progenitoris.

The same I mycht prove be more exempillis; but theis historeis I may not apply, least that I be compellit to exceid the measure of a missive. Thais that thus be taucht of God,

and be plane and cleir sycht of thair infirmitie and wreachit nature, ar unfeanidlie moveit to rest upon the power of God, and upon his frie and undeservit mercie, have frome tyme to tyme augmentatioun and incress of his Halie Spreit, and wisdome in aboundance, joynit with constancie, ministred unto thame in the middis of all afflictionis, to performe the gude work whilk in Godis name thai begyn. And so potentlie dois He sumtymes work, evin be sic as haif sum tymes appeirit abject, and of na estimatioun, that by ane he comforteth, manteaneth, and delyvereth many thousandis. Gif ye haif taistit of this spreit (Ryght Honorable), and by the motioun of the same putt your handis to the Lordis work, then, whatsoever any creature imagyn in your contrair, yit sall ye so prosper, that in the end ye salbe callit the blissit of the Lord. For as sic as labour to suppress Godis glorie sall leif thair names in execratioun to the posteritie following, sa sall thois that unfeanidlie seik to promot the same have thair names writtin, not onlie in the Buke of Lyfe, but also sall haif thame heir keipit and registrat in speciall recommendatioun. But in all thingis I wische your eyis to be singill, behalding onlie in your interpryse the glorie of God, your dewtie, and the salvatioun of your brethren.

But now, na farder to trubill yow at this present, I will onlie advertise yow of sic brut[1] as I heir in thir partis uncertanlie noysit; whilk is this, that contradictioun and rebellioun is maid to the Autoritie be sum in that realme. In whilk poynt my conscience will not suffer me to keip back fra yow my consall, yea, my judgement and commandement, whilk I communicat with yow in Godis feir, and by the assurance of his trewth; whilk is, that nane of yow that seik to promote the glorie of Chryst do suddanlie disobey or displeas the establissit Autoritie in thingis lawfull; nether yit, that ye assist or fortifie suche as for thair awn particular cause and warldlie promotioun wald trubill the same. But in the bowellis of Chryst Jesus I exhort

[1] "Brut" or "bruit," rumour, report.

yow, that with all simplicitie and lawfull obedience, joynit with boldnes in God, and with open confessioun of your faith, ye seik the favours of the Autoritie, that by it (yf possibill be) the cause in whilk ye labour may be promotit, or at the leist not persecuted; whilk thing, efter all humill requeist yf ye can not atteane, then, with oppin and solempn protestatioun of your obedience to be gevin to the Autoritie in all thingis not planelie repugnyng to God, ye lawfullie may attempt the extreamitie, whilk is, to provyd, whidder the Authoritie will consent or no, that Chrystis Evangell may be trewlie preachit, and his halie Sacramentis rychtlie ministerit unto yow, and to your brethren, the subjectis of that Realme. And farther, ye lawfullie may, yea, and thairto is bound to defend your Brethrene from persecutioun and tiranny, be it aganis princes or empriouris, to the uttermost of your power, provyding alwayis, as I haif said, that nether your self deny lawfull obedience, nethir yit that ye assist nor promot thois that seik autoritie and pre-eminence of warldlie glorie, yea, of the oppressioun[1] and distructioun of uthiris: I mene of him[2] wha in the begynning of his autoritie and government began to profess Chrystis treuth, but suddanlie slyding back, became ane cruell persecutour of Chrystis memberis, a manifest and oppen oppressour of all trew subjectis, and a manteaner of all mischevous men; in whilk horribill vyces he and his factioun and assisteris, I mene his neirest kinesmen, cheifest consall to this day, do continew, and malign according to thair power, whilk God of his just judgement sall schortlie suppress. For not onlie the blud of thois constant martiris of Chryst Jesus, Mr George Wischert,[3] simpill Adame Wallace,[4] and of uthiris whilk did suffer for Chrystis cause onlie, but also the

[1] In Cald. MS., "suppression."

[2] James Duke of Châtelherault, Governor of Scotland. In the History of the Reformation, under the year 1543, (vol. i. pp. 93–105,) Knox has given some interesting details of his early inclination, when elected Governor, to favour the reformed doctrines, until the arrival from France of his bastard brother, the Abbot of Paisley (afterwards Archbishop of St Andrews), who obtained such a pernicious influence over him.

[3] See vol. i. pp. 154, &c.

[4] Ib.

blude of thois whilk, under the titill of civill crymes, was m injustlie shed, sall cry in the earis of the Lord of Hostis ti just and open vengeance be pourit furth upon all thois t soucht the same; but cheiflie upon him that then was in au ritie,[1] except that unfeanid and speadie repentance prev Godis judgementis. I salbe judgeit scharp; but be ye adı nissit to flee all confederacie with that generatioun; for I sp and wryt in the presence of Him befoir whois eyis the blud his sanctis is so precious, that no warldlie power was ever fou abill to manteane lang, or defend sic as delytit in the sch ding of the same. And thairfoir, unto sic tyme as ye sie s signis of repentance in thame, I say yit agane, avoid o great familiaritie with thame.

That now I persuade yow to gif lawfull obedience to Autoritie, is nothing repugnant to that whilk I wrait bef tuiching the warre begun; for a greit difference thair is bet lawfull obedience, and ane feirfull flattering of princes, or injust accomplischment of thair desyres in thingis whilk be quyrit or devysit for the distructioun of a commoun-wel But this article I omit for this present.

The mychtie Spreit of the Lord Jesus reule your hartis tho trew feir of God, open your eyis to considder your dewt and give yow strenth to execut the same. Amen.

From Deip, the 17th of December 1557.

Yours to command in godlines,

JOHNE KNOX.

[1] The Governor was superseded in his authority in April 1554, when the Queen Dowager was appointed gent of Scotland.—(Vol. i. p. 242.

AN APOLOGY

FOR THE PROTESTANTS

WHO ARE HOLDEN IN PRISON AT PARIS:

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH;

WITH ADDITIONS,

M.D.LVII.

NOTWITHSTANDING the fierce and sanguinary persecution of the French Protestants or Huguenots, during the reigns of Francis the First and Henry the Second, their numbers greatly increased, and congregations had been formed in the chief towns of France. It is, however, only one special and aggravated instance of such persecution which requires to be noticed in connection with the following Apology.

On the evening of the 4th of September 1557, from three to four hundred persons, of all ranks, had assembled for religious worship and the celebration of the Lord's Supper, in a private house in the Rue St Jacques, at Paris, nearly opposite the College du Plessis,[1] and having the Sorbonne behind. The number of strangers who were accustomed to meet in this place had not been overlooked by the priests[2] connected with the College. Having long been on the watch to discover the cause of such meetings, they, on that occasion, collected as many of their own faction as was possible, and sent to apprise the ordinary guard of the city of an unlawful assembly; every precaution being taken to prevent any of those within the house escaping before the guard should arrive. In the meanwhile, no effort was made to interrupt the devotional exercises, and it was only when the assembly, near midnight, were about to disperse and return quietly to their own homes, that a murderous attack was made upon them, and the cry raised which collected multitudes

[1] The College du Plessis, in the Rue Saint Jacques, was founded in the year 1322. The foundation consisted of forty scholarships; twenty for students in grammar, ten for students in philosophy, and ten in theology.

[2] In the original, "Prestres boursiers de ce College du Plessis."

from all quarters with arms,[1] as if to oppose a formidable band of thieves, robbers, or conspirators. But the mob finding they were Lutherans, as the Protestants were still called, became only the more infuriated and thirsted for blood.

This unexpected attack occasioned great consternation among the faithful. Most of them might have escaped in the darkness of the night, but to prevent this, lanterns had been hung out of the windows in the adjoining houses. The preachers exhorted them to patience; and after they had joined in prayer, it was considered which of two courses should be adopted. The one was, to wait until the magistrates and civil authorities should arrive; but in this case, to make, as would have been required, an open confession of their faith, was, as it were, a certain step to death. The other was, to attempt to force their way through the multitude. Knowing, it is said, the cowardice of the Parisian populace, the latter course was preferred. Such of the men as had swords marched first, to make a passage for those who were unarmed. After various sallies, although attacked on all hands with showers of large stones, with pikes and halberds, and although the streets were barricaded, numbers escaped as by miracle from the midst of their assailants. There still remained in the house most of the females and children, and a few men, when the King's Attorney of the Châtelet,[2] named Martine, arrived with his commissaries and other officers to investigate the cause of this tumult. His

[1] After the important fortified town of St Quentin was taken by the Duke of Savoy, the people had continued in a state of alarm, and were enjoined to provide themselves with arms, in case of any sudden attack on Paris; which explains the cause of this mob becoming so formidable.

[2] The Court of the Châtelet was suppressed at the era of the French Revolution. This tribunal was of a very ancient date; and the court was established in an ancient fortress at the northern extremity of the Pont au Change. It is mentioned in a charter of Louis VII., dated 1147. The Prevôt of Paris was, according to an ordinance issued by Saint Louis in 1254, *chef de justice et de la police;* and Philip-le-Bel, in 1302, created for this court eighty *sergens à cheval*, eighty *sergens à pied*, and a number of judges, called *auditeurs*, whose office it was to examine witnesses.—(History of Paris, vol. ii. pp. 96, 100, London, [Paris,] 1825, 3 vols. 8vo.)

arrival prevented these helpless victims being put to death; and upon learning the peaceful object of this assembly, for the purpose of reading the Scriptures in their own tongue, of joining together in the worship of God, and of partaking the Holy Sacrament, he was moved with compassion. To avoid their brutal ferocity, the King's Attorney wished to keep the females and children within the house, until the mob should disperse. But their rage only the more increased, threatening to set the house on fire; and after having been besieged for nearly six hours, the whole number, amounting to upwards of one hundred and twenty persons, were with difficulty conducted to the Châtelet, their clothes torn off their backs, their hair dishevelled, their persons covered with filth, and themselves called by the most opprobrious names. In this state they were consigned to the low, damp, confined cells of the prison,[1] which formed part of the building in which the sittings of the Court were held.

Such is the account given by the author of the "Histoire Ecclesiastique des Eglises Reformées au Royaume de France," originally published anonymously at Antwerp, "De l'Imprimerie de Iean Remy," 1580, 3 vols. 8vo. This work is usually ascribed to Theodore Beza, and the republication at Lille, in 1841, in 3 vols. 8vo, bears his name as the author; but the work, for the most part, was compiled by Nicolas de Gallars, one of the Ministers of the Genevese Church, who himself at that time made a narrow escape.[2] He refers to his having had access to the original records of the criminal proceedings which then took place; but the substance of what he states had probably appeared in one of the early editions of the "Histoire des Martyrs." The prisoners were subjected to the greatest privations and sufferings, although many of them were ladies of rank; and the vilest reports were circulated respecting the object of such as-

[1] The description given of some of the dungeons, presents a most revolting picture of cruelty.—(History of Paris, vol. ii. p. 364.)

[2] See Dyer's Life of Calvin, p. 26. Lond. 1850. 8vo. It is not improbable that Beza may have had some share in the earlier portion, but there is no doubt that the work was continued and completed by De Gallars.

semblies. Their friends who had escaped used every endeavour to procure their release. For this purpose, they solicited the aid of the Protestant Churches in Switzerland, and in other quarters; but the King was inexorable; and in order to intimidate the rest, three were selected for trial, and condemned to the flames. These victims were Nicolas Clinet, aged sixty, one of the overseers or assistants to the ministers of that congregation; Taurin Gravelle, an advocate, through whom the use of the house in which they assembled had been obtained; and Philippe de Luns, a young lady, whose husband, the Seigneur de Graveron, had died of a fever a few months previously. Every attempt was made by some learned Doctors of the Sorbonne to induce these victims or the other prisoners to a recantation; but they remained steadfast, and encouraged each other to submit to their approaching fate. On the 27th of September, the sentence was carried into execution in the Place de Grève, the two men being burned alive, the young lady, after scorching her feet and face with torches,[1] out of compassion being first strangled. They met their fate with Christian fortitude, the lady, in particular, displaying the greatest cheerfulness, and even "assise dessus le tombereau, monstroit une face vermeille, et d'une excellente beauté." Two others, Nicholas le Cene, who had only the day of the assembly arrived from Normandy, and Pierre Gabart, from Poictou, suffered the same fate on the 3d of October; the Cardinal de Lorraine urging the execution of the whole of the prisoners.

It can excite no wonder that the report of such proceedings should have excited the commiseration of Protestants in other countries. A deputation was sent from the Swiss Cantons; but it was chiefly owing to the intercession of the Elector Palatine that the French King, unwilling to alienate the affections of his allies at that juncture, consented that the prisoners should be treated with some degree of leniency; and after several months' imprisonment, they were at length set at liberty.

[1] In the original, "apres avoir esté flamboyée aux pieds et au visage."

Before this took place, an Apology in their name was prepared and printed, for the purpose of vindicating themselves from the atrocious calumnies which had been circulated, and of informing the people of the truth of the doctrines which they professed.

This Apology was so written, says De Gallars, that the Doctors of the Ancient Church were brought forward as defending the same cause which they had themselves maintained in common with those who were then denounced as heretics. Some of the eloquent passages selected from Tertullian, and the other early Christian Apologists, were indeed singularly applicable to their case. This little book,[1] it is added, is inserted word for word in the "Acts of the Martyrs," and proved of inestimable benefit, by removing from the minds of the people the evil opinion which they entertained of the objects of such religious assemblies, while it excited others to make more careful inquiry concerning that doctrine.

The work referred to was the "Histoire des Martyrs," by John Crespin, originally written in Latin, but translated and continued by Simon Goulart, having, like Foxe's great work, passed through several editions. The edition consulted bears the following title: "Histoire des Martyrs, persecutez et mis à mort pour la Verité de l'Evangile, depuis le temps des Apostres jusques à present. Comprinse en Douze Livres, &c. Nouvelle et dernier edition, revuée et augmentée, &c. A Geneve, 1619," large folio. The Apology is introduced with the following notice:—

"*Apologie des Chrestiens.*

"Il y eut une autre Defense faite et imprimée, pour servir en commun à tout le peuple, et lui faire aussi entendre la verité

[1] No copy of this Apology, in its original and separate form, has been discovered; neither have I been able, from Paris, to obtain any account of two little works mentioned by Brunet, in his Manuel du Libraire, viz., "Histoire des Persecutions et Martyrs de l'Eglise de Paris. Lyon, 1563," 8vo.—(Vol. v. no. 22,442, &c.) "Dialogus quo multa exponuntur quæ Lutheranis Gallicis acciderunt, 1573," 8vo.—(Ib. 22, 445.)

des choses susdites. Ceste Defense estoit briefue, et telle dressée que les Docteurs de l'ancienne Eglise y estoyent i duits, eux mesmes defendans ceste cause, qui leur auoit commune avec nous. Car il sembloit, que ceux qui se d leur porter honneur, deuoyent estre satisfait par ce m sans qu'il fust besoin d'user de Defense plus longue. avons bien voulu la mettre ici de mot à mot, afin que tou posterité puisse conoistre que telles assemblées pour ou parole de Dieu, ne sont destituées de justifications."—P. 4

("There was also another Defence prepared and print serve in common for all people, and to let them understan truth of the matters above related. This Defence was and drawn up in such a manner, that the Doctors of th cient Church were introduced as themselves maintaining cause which they had espoused in common with us. F seemed that those who professed to honour them, ought satisfied by this means, without any occasion of using a l Defence. We have therefore preferred to place it here, for word, in order that all posterity may know, that such a blies for hearing the Word of God are not devoid of the r of justification.")

"Ce petit livre fut d'une fruict inestimable; et osta à coup de gens la mauvaise opinion qu'ils avoyent des assem et incita mesme les autres à faire plus diligentes enquestes vraye doctrine."—P. 470.

("This little book was of inestimable value, by removing the minds of the people the bad opinion which they entert of such assemblies; while at the same time it excited c to make more diligent inquiries into the true doctrine.")

It is then stated that certain Doctors of the Sorbon deavoured to answer this Apology; the first, named De chi (in Latin, Democharès), one of the Inquisitors, fou upon a doctoral resolution, without bringing forward any p to substantiate his assertions, insisted that as Heretic ought to be put to death. Another, still more sangui

amassed all the most hideous crimes and heretical doctrines he could imagine, charging them indiscriminately upon those who professed the Reformed doctrines; and exhorting not only kings and princes to exterminate such heretics, but inciting the people to kill them without the formality of any judicial proceedings. The third, named Cenalis, Bishop of Avranches, took the same course, but with less vehemence than the other two. Among other points in his book, he had a dispute, "merveilleusement plaisante," concerning the signs and tokens of the true Church; and he concluded that the Romish Church was the true Church, because it had the advantage of clocks and bells, while in the false Church, pistols and arquebusses were the most usual sounds.

During these occurrences, Knox had taken leave of his flock at Geneva, and had reached Dieppe in October, with the intention of proceeding to Scotland. This object, as we have seen, being postponed, and his heart being filled with grief at the sufferings of the French Protestants, he prepared for publication the following Translation of their Apology, with a Preface and Notes, or Additions, for the purpose of informing his countrymen of such cruel proceedings. Knox states, that the chief part of it was translated "by a faithful Brother," because of his other labours. The translation is very literal; and as words in the MS. are occasionally mutilated, or not very legible, such slight defects are thus the more easily supplied. He dates it from Dieppe, 7th of December 1557; but no trace of its publication has been discovered, and it is probable that the subsequent liberation of the prisoners may have served to render this less necessary.

It is now printed for the first time, and it forms the concluding article from the Manuscript Volume in the possession of the Rev. Dr M'Crie, which has proved of such essential service in furnishing materials for the earlier portion of the Reformer's Works.

THE PREFACE BY KNOX TO AN APOLOGY FOR THE PROTESTANTS WHO ARE HOLDEN IN PRISON AT PARIS.

The afflictionis of this lyfe are not worthie of the glorie whilk salbe schewit upon [*unto*] *us. Also the fervent desyre of the creatures abydeth, lukeing when the sonnis of God sall appeir: Because the creatures ar subdewit to vanitie aganis thair will.*—ROMA. 8.

GIF the afflictit for rychteousnes sake (deirlie belovit in our Savioure Chryst Jesus) did any thing in that age, rejoise in these wordes of the Apostell, as no doubt thai greatlie did, how mekill mair aught we to be ravischit with joy, and to be incorageit in our battell in the deip consideratioun of the same. For now do not we onlie behald the deid and insensibill creatures subject to vanitie, and thairfoir (as be him we ar taught) thai murne, and with sorrow do travale, with languisching, abyding the glorious delyverance of the sonis of God, in whilk thai sall also be delyverit from the bondage and thraldome of corruptioun. But also we may most cleirlie perceave the mychtie power of the Spreit of the Lord Jesus, so to fight aganis Sathan now raging in his memberis, the blind, cruell, and bludethirstie tirantis of this earth, that whatsoever the Divill devyseth in thame to suppress the glorie of God, and to torment his sanctis and chosin children, that the same redoundis to the farther manifestatioun of his glorie and of his favour towardis the suffereris, and to the oppin schame and confusioun of Sathan and of his kingdome. For now it is not necessarie that we revolve the bukis of ald and famous wrytteris to understand and learne what was the blind furie and beastlie tirannye of their cruell persecutouris, who schortlie efter Chrystis Ascentioun

did trubill his Kirk; nether yit what was the invincibill pacience of sic as than professit him and his doctrine; for presentlie oure eyis may behald and oure earis may heir the ane and the other sa evidentlie, that sic as ar not moveit to profess and avowe Chryst Jesus and his trew religioun in dispyt of all erthlie poweris, declair thameselves to have small hoip of that
Mat. 10. kingdome promissit to thois that perseveir and abyd in the battell under his standert to the end. For as afflictionis be the malice of Sathan, and blind crueltie of princes, do now abound in sic sort, that the rage and tirannie of Nero himself, in respect of this beastlie furie, may have sum face of justice and mercie; for albeit his crueltie was incredibill in thois dayis, yit find we that Paule under him and his Judgeis had place to speik and to defend his cause in sic sort that Chryst Jesus was
Act. 24. preacheit and knawin, not onlie in the Emperouris house, but also in the Judgement hall. But now, allace! hath the Divill so possessit and blindit the hartis of obstinat princes, and of thair cruell judgeis, that the cause of innocentis can not be heard, but as scheip, without cryme committit, thai ar led to the butcher; yea, (whilk passeth all crueltie) the toungis of sic as no man was ever abill to convict of blasphemie against God, or of injurie spokin against thair nychtbouris, ar commandit to be cut out, to the end that the pepill sall not heir thame speik; the Divill and his servandis in that declaring thameselves more to feir the toung of the suffereris, then oure brethren the suffereris do the tormentis and the fyre.

As theis afflictiounis, I say, be feirfull and terribill, so doith the consolatioun and power of the Halie Gaist work so potentlie with the suffereris, that yf the lyke had bene left to us, written be oure fatheris, with great difficultie culd we haif beleivit the same. For thois sclaves of Sathan the Doctouris of Sorbon[1] and thair adherentis ar sa confoundit

[1] The College of the Sorbonne, founded for secular ecclesiastics, became, as the Theological Faculty of Paris, celebrated throughout Europe for their lectures and scholastic disputations. The several professorships of theology in the Sorbonne existed until the Revolution.

be the wisdome of God proceiding evin frome the mouthis of wemen and children, that thai dar not suffer thair toungis to speik, no not evin (as I haif said) when thai ga to suffer the cruell deth, to the tormentis whairof do oure brethren and sisteris offer thair bodies with so joyfull and glad countenances, that the verie enemyis thameselves do trembill at thair presence. And thus doith oure God so potentlie work with his awn weak soldiouris, that suche as do not sie his godlie power manifestlie fighting aganis the tirannie of oure adversaries, ar mair than blind. But to the end that better ye may understand both the mercies of oure God declareit to his afflictit, and the malice of Sathan now furiouslie rageing in theis last dayis, I haif thocht gude to mak a schort Rehersall of thois thingis whilk have happinit to oure Brethrene and Sisters at Paris, in the moneth of September last bypast, and since to this day. 1557.

Almost in everie notabill Citie within France thair be assemblit godlie Congregationis of sic as haif refusit all societie with the sinagoge of Sathan, so wer (and yit ar) dyvers Congregationis in Paris, and kirkis having thair learnit ministeris for preiching Chrystis Evangell, and for trew ministratioun of the halie Sacramentis institut be him. The brute whairof being spred abrod, great search was maid for thair aprehensioun, and at lenth, according to the pre-disingnit consall of oure God, who hath apoyntit the memberis to be lyke to the heid, the bludthristie wolves did violentlie rusche in amongis a portioun of Chrystis simpill lambis. For thois hell-houndis of Sorbonistis, accumpanyit with the rascall pepill, and with sum sergeantis maid apt for thair purpois, did so furiouslie invade a halie assemblie convenit (nye the number of four hundreth personis) to celebrat the memorie of oure Lordis deth, that the soldiouris of the princissis of the preistis, comprehending Chryst Jesus, in respect of thame may be justifeit for men ryghteous and peaceable; for thai had autoritie and commandement of the upper

Power (althocht it was wickit) to apprehend Chryst Jesus: But theis had none but the instigatioun of thair captane, the Divill. Thay murderit and injureit none, but at Chrystis commandement permittit his Discipillis to depart: But theis, as ravisching wolves rageing for blud, murderit sum, oppressit all, and schamfullie intreatit both men and wemen of great blude and knawin honestie. Thay finallie careit Chryst, whome thai had apprehendit, first to the presence of thair preistis, and efter did present him befoir a judge, whair libertie was permittit to declair his innocencie: But theis cruell tirantis and privie murdereris, as thai have permittit libertie of toung to none, sa by poysone haif thai murderit dyvers in prisone. And yit is not this the end and chief poynt of thair malice; for thai, as children of thair father, wha is the autour of all lies, incontinent did spred abrod aganis theis sanctis of God a most schamfull and horribill sclander, to wit, that thai convenit upon the nycht for no uthir cause but to satisfie the filthie lustis of the flesche: And this was not brutit be the rude and ignorant pepill, but a Cardinall[1] (whais ipocrisie nevertheles is not abill to cover his awin filthines[2]) eschamit not opinnlie at his tabill to affirme that maist impudent and manifest lie; adding moreover, (to the further declaratioun whais sone he was,) that in the hous whair thai wer apprehendit eight beddis wer preparit, when in verie deid in that place whair thai did convene, (except a table for the Lordis Supper to have ministered, a chayr for the preacher, and bankis and stullis for the easement of the auditouris,) no preparatioun nor furniture was abill to be proved, not evin be the verie enemyis.

A Gentilwoman of Gascony with hir tuo daughteris.

But as that pestilent generatioun taketh libertie to exercise thair vennomous toungis in all dispyt and blasphemie aganis God, sa sall he, according to thair iniquitie, one day recompence thame; yea, and presentlie he doith confound

[1] Charles, Cardinal de Lorraine, one of the uncles of Mary Queen of Scots.

[2] See notes in vol. ii. pp. 318, 319, to the account which Knox has given of "The Masque of Orleans;" of which "horrible villany," the Cardinal was a chief contriver.

thame, as this schort and godlie APOLOGIE, composit be oure Brethrene in prisone aganist sic calumniatoris, sall instruct yow; to whilk being translatit in the Inglische toung by a faithfull Brother, I have thocht gude to add sum Notis, to the end that the simpill Readeris (who be not exercisit in the profound sentences of the Doctouris, whois wordis be heir faithfullie rehersit without any applycatioun,) may the better understand that oure cause is ane this day with the cause of the primative Kirk. And albeit that oure enemyis have changeit thair titillis and namis, that yit Sathan hath not yit changeit his nature, but that he beireth the same malice against Chryst Jesus and againis his trew kirk that he hath borne frome the begynning, finding his ald instrumentis the blind reularis of the erth joynit with ipocrytis no less obedient now than thai haif bene of ald dayis. And yit notwithstanding, God giveth sic graces to his afflictit in theis stormes, that ernestlie we aucht to be moveit in his cause. For amangis tuo hundreth and mo[1] whome thai have lang pynit in prisone, and of whome dyvers thai haif put to deth in maist cruell maner, thay ar abill to constreane nether man nor woman to this day to recant. O praisit be God for his unspeakeabill graces so liberallie bestowit upon oure Brethrene, who, besydes thair constantnes, whilk is wonderous, declareth suche comfort and joyfull countenance in the middis of thair tormentis, that Godis hand is manifestlie espyit. Amongis uthiris, God now of lait dayis hath so triumphit in the deth of a tender chyld of saxtene yeiris of age, that the verie blind pepill ar compellit to confess that the mychtie power of God worketh above nature with the sufferreris, and opinlie fighteth aganis oure enemyis. This young gentilman condempnit to be brunt quick, was laid upon a maner of a rowe[2] above the fyre, his face upward; but as Godis gude pleasure and providence was, his toung was not

THE FORMER AND MAIST PART WAS TRANSLATIT BE ANOTHIR, BECAUS OF MY OTHIR LABOURIS.

The Princes and Preistis, wha pretend to governe the Pepill, of all othiris ar maist obedient to the Divill.

[1] De Gallars reckons the prisoners from 120 to 140; "jusques au nombre de six à sept vingts."

[2] From the French *roue*, a wheel, employed as a mode of punishment.

cut out, but a great pece of wood was put in his mouth, bound with a cord behind his neck. When the fyre had so long brunt, that the cord was consumit and so the stick fell furth of his mouth, he began, when na lyfe apeirit to have remanit, maist comfortabillie to sing the Fourtie Psalme of David, having this begynning, "Pacientlie haif I abiddin the Lord, wha is eternall, and he hath inclynit himself unto me and hath heard my cry. He hath delyverit me frome the horribill pit, yea, frome the [pit] of dolour, and hath placeit my feit upon a sure rock. He hath put a new song in my mouth, yea, a thanksgeving unto oure God: many seing this sall feir the Lord, and put thair trust in him. Blissit is the man that setteth his hoip in the Lord, and turneth not unto the proud, and unto sic as go about with leis." And did so proceid unto the end of the Psalme, at the last verse whairof he renderit his spreit, as it had bene without pane, to the great and maist singular comfort of all faithfull, and to the feir, confusioun, and schame of thois cruell tirantis. And thairfoir, I say, deir Brethren and Sisteris, that we aught not to be discorageit suppose that Sathan now rage aganis us; for stronger is He who by grace worketh in us, than is that deceaving Spreit of iniquitie, whilk trubilleth us and blindeth the haill warld. For albeit we appeir to be left without all comfort and consolatioun for a tyme, yit sall the end of oure battell be sic, that we sall knaw and feill in effect that the promeis of oure God is not vane, who sayeth, "With thois that feir me will I be in trubill, I sall delyver thame and thai sall glorifie me."

Psa. 91.

To His halie name be prais and glorie befoir his Congregatioun. Amen.

THUS BEGYNNETH THE EPISTILL OF OURE BELOVIT BRETHERNE AND SISTERIS, HALDIN IN PRISONE AT PARIS FOR THE PROFESSIOUN OF CHRYST JESUS, WHAIS HALIE SPREIT COMFORT THAME, AND MOVE US TO FOLLOW THAIR GODLIE BALDNES.

GIF it be a great greif to thois that leid ane upright lyfe to be blamit for weildoing, and thairfoir upon just cause tak pane to haif thair innocencie knawin, by a mair strong reasone thai that go about to walk in a gude conscience befoir God, and to serve him purelie according to his Halie Word, aught to haif thair hartis persit and throchtlie[1] woundit, when for the seiking to please God thai ar not onlie tormentit in the bodeis, but also ar oppressit and overwhelmed with sclanderis and horribill reprochis, to the hurt of thair fame and defaceing of thair innocencie. For the sclander aganis thame dispersit, is not to be weyit and esteamit as is the evill report in other commoun matteris; but rather as thocht in thair personis the Name of God wer blasphemit, and his Halie Word evill spokin of throw schamless reportis. And further, Sathan hath so blindit the warld, (whilk maist is to be lamentit,) that men salbe weill heard in thair awn defence when the matter that is in questioun salbe but matteris of this earth: but yf God and his service be anis callit in questioun, then sall the earis of men be so stoppit, that the accusit sall find no place to reassone his cause be it nevir so just; but all maner of accusatioun, how fals soever thai be, salbe receaveit, and the myndis of men salbe so occupyit with hatred and rage, that whasoever can devyse aganis the children of God the maist detestabill cryme salbe best heard. Sic[2] frome the begynning hath bene the subtilitie of Sathan,

[1] Thoroughly. [2] Such.

(who is father of leis,) as to bewitch the hartis of men, to the intent the servandis of God may be condempnit, and no just caus why, knawin. Lat us reid the complayntis that David maid aganis his backbyteris, and we sall find that it was not sa great a greif to him to be banissit out of his contrie, to be dryvin away frome his familie and gudis, nether to be tormentit in his bodie, as to sie and heir himself sclanderit throw fals reportis; becaus that thai whilk persecutit him, addressit not thameselves aganis him onlie, but also aganis God whome he had obeyed. And thairfoir, having no place of defence, nor persone to assist his caus, he resortit unto God, upon him dischargeing all his cairis and trubillis; not leaving in the mene whyle [to] put the same in wrytting, to the intent that his innocencie suld efter be knawin for ever, and that all sic as serve God mycht thairby tak exampill to be constant and stedfast in him. The lyke haif the Christianis and Martyris of the primative Kirk done; the whilk haif rycht weill schewit us that the injureis whilk we at this day do susteane (for the cause whilk we haif commoun with thame) is no new thing, but the ald malice and practise of Sathan; and thairfoir that we aught not to be abaschit but rather rejoseit, labouring to mak oure innocencie knawin as thai did. And that albeit men will not heir us, yit must we plead oure cause before God, in whois presence theis persecutouris and sclandereris sall appeir, whair thair bukis salbe openit, and that whilk now lyeth hid thairin salbe maid knawin.

Now we haif to do with two sortis of men, whilk speik evill of us; the ane sort is ignorant, and the othir pretend wisdome, learnyng, and prudence, and yit ar no less enemyis to God and his knawin Word than be the other. The ignorant sort ar careit and led away with a beastlie furie, and desyre nothing ellis but oure blude, and to sie us in peces[1] and in pouder. Thay easelie persuad thameselves to think the

[1] "To sie us in peces;" literally translated from the original,—"Et ne demandent que nostre sang, et à nous voir en pièces, ou en poudre."

worst thai can of us, and thairupon judge thai that thai may lawfullie do and say aganis us (and sic as we ar) what thai will. I will leave to speik of the crueltie that baith the great and the small haif usit within theis xxv. or xxx. yeiris towardis the children of God. But now, of lait dayis, men may perceave, that this rage hath kendillit the self mair and mair, in sic sort that the commoun pepill haif sufficientlie declaireit in thair furie efter what sort thai have bene moveit aganis both men and wemen that feir God; yea, evin aganis Ladeis and Gentilwemen of estait and renoune, the whilk uthirwayis thai durst not have lukit in the face but with feir and reverence. But as theis pepill hait na thing mair nor the rycht service of God, and befoir men ar without any schame at all, even sa, without any regarde of estait or birth, thai haif laid violent handis upon the said Ladeis, and without any autoritie of justice thai have plukit frome thame the tyring of thair heads, defyllit thair faces with doung and filth, and cruellie and schamfullie have spoylit thame of thair garmentis, jewellis, and ringis; and all this is sufferit becaus men may do what thai will to Chrystianis (wha thai call Lutherianis[1]): I will leave, I say, to speik of theis thingis that serve unto another argument; and I will speak onlie a word or tua of the sclanderous reportis and fals crymes that suche lay to the charge of theis honorabill personagis, whais sober behaviour and chaist lyfe is sufficientlie knawin. Is it not too schameles a malice, (I speik not this to thame of the lawer sort[2] onlie, but rather to the greatter,) thus aganis thair awin conscience to pronunce of thois whilk wer never atteyntit or suspectit of sic faltis, but rathir have schynit in godlie lyving, especiallie since God hath lychtinit thame with the brychtnes of his Word, that thair honestie is sufficient be the self to stop all thair mouthis that speik evill of thame. Can thai be but inchantit be the Divill, thair father, wha is the father of all sclanderis, and authour of all falsheid, that sa im-

[1] The words within the parenthesis are not in the "Apologie."

[2] "Of the lawer sort," of the inferior degree.

pudentlie eschame not to lie. But otherwayes can thai not fight aganis the veritie then with suche weaponis and armour. But prasit be God that the lyfe and act of thois personis sall so prufe thame lieris, that thair sclanderis sall tak no place but amangis thair lyke.

Nevertheles, to the intent that many simpill pepill, whilk ar lycht of credit, and yit not led with so commoun a malice, may not be abusit, we haif thocht it gud thus to advertise thame, with a breif gathering togidder of certane passageis of the auncient Doctouris of the Kirk; whairby it sall appeir that sic detestabill crymes in tymes past have bene laid to the charge of the Christianis, to the end that thair purgatioun and wordis may this day serve for oure Defence aganis thois that sclander us. And seing we all manteane ane self same cause, we haif thocht it meittest, in gathering thair sentences, to speik rather by thair mouthis than by oure awine, that the rather thairby it may be knawin of what spreit thai ar whilk persecut us. The same sentences sall serve us also aganis the wyse, whilk knaw weill yneugh that we ar sclanderouslie blamed; but yit cease not to charge with overmuche raschenes and lack of discretioun. Now thai sall knaw be the reiding of this that followeth, that we haif takin nothing upon us, but according to the exemple of the auncient Christianis and halie Martyris, whilk in tyme of persecutioun haif assemblit secreitlie together, and oftin in the nycht; and haif bene blissit of God in all thair so doingis, althocht thai haif sufferit persecutioun. Reid thairfoir, in Godis name, theis thingis with discreit judgement, and be warnit be sic exempillis, to the intent ye be not careit away be fals reportis, nor yit disceavit be the judgementis of men.

The end of the Epistill to the Reider.

FOLLOWIS THE WORDIS OF TERTULLIAN IN HIS APOLOGIE OR DEFENCE FOR THE CHRISTIANIS AGANIS THE GENTILLIS.

A godlie wrytter liveit the yeir efter Chrystis nativitie anno 216.[1]

"GIF it be not lawfull to mak it opinlie knawin what be the crymes that be laid unto the Christianis charge, and yf the malice of men be so great towardis thame, that it will not suffer thame to be heard in thair awn defences, at the leist way let it be lawfull for thame, by thair secreit letteris, to mak the trewth knawin. The whilk thing thai desyre notsamekill for thair awn part, becaus thai understanding in what estait thai stand, feill thame selves to be strangeris upon erth, and thairfoir knaw how easie a thing it is for strangeris to haif enemyis; and now oure enemyis to be sic as condemp oure cause and heir it not, refusing to heir that whilk, when thai haif hard it, thai ar not abill to condempn. Thair is nathing mair wickit than to hait [that] whilk a man knaweth not. Why is it not lawfull for us to follow that whilk aught to be knawin, and being anis knawn, sall not be haitit as now it is? Trewlie thair apeireth a great falt in men, in that thai cry everie whair that thair tounis ar besiegit becaus of the Christianis; for becaus, say thai, a man may sie of everie sort, age, conditioun, and estait, tak upon thame the name of Christianis. But yit, nevertheles, the thing that moveth thame to blame thois pepill, is not in the menetyme weyit and considderit; yea, and the blindnes of men apeireth the greatter in judgeing us malefactouris or offenderis. For asmuche as the evill doeris and offenderis sall haif thair caussis hard, debaittit, and defendit, onlie the Christianis can not be sufferit to speak the thing whilk may mak thair cause to be understand; neither may thai defend the trewth

Christianis ar strangeris upon this erth.

The multitude of Godlie men ar the benedictioun of the erth, and yit ar thai haitit.

[1] The original has:—"Ce docte Theologien premier entre les Latins vivoit l'an de Grace 200." He was born at Carthage, about the year 160, and had distinguished himself by his attainments, before his conversion to the Christian faith.

whairby the judgeis mycht be stayit frome failling in judgement.[1]

Cap. 2. "This fals report runneth abrod, that the Christianis do kill and eat children; and that thai commit maist filthie hurdomes; yea, the judges go about to compell thame to confess of what opinioun thai be of, althocht that be forbidden by the Empriour Trajane, whairof Plinie the Secund hath this writtin: (This Plinius, callit the Second or the Younger, was Governour of Bethinia, who, moveit be compassioun, seing the daylie murther of Christianis, did wryt, as heir is expressit,[2] to the Empriour Trajane, who gave charge that na farther inquisitioun nor persecutioun sall be maid aganis the Christianis; whilk yit was not observit, as Eusebius wryteth, whairof Plinie the Secund hath this written:[3]) 'That efter long and diligent inquisitioun and searche of the maner and behaviour of the Christianis, nothing els culd be found or aproved aganis thame, but that thai assemblit together in the nycht, to sing to Jesus Chryst, and unto God, and to confer togidder in doctrine; utterlie forbidding all maner of hurdomes, adultereis, and all uthir kynd of vyce.'

Cap. 3 "Seing that the veritie it self is altogether aganis that whairwith untrewlie men charge us; for thair last defence, thai bring furth the autoritie of the lawis, the whilk thai say can not be revokit.

Advert if the same be not done this day.

Cap. 4. "Now, when men say that we aught not to be sufferit to live, thay declair thairby alredie thair wickit maner of reuling, and thairin follow not the professioun of the lawis, but force and violence. For as tuiching the law; yf I find that thing to be gude whilk thy law forbiddeth, by that prejudice it may not forbid me to do the thing that is gud; yf the thing be

[1] In the "Apologie," "et qui empesche le juge d'estre juste,"—(and which hinders the judge from being just.)

[2] In his remarkable and well-known letter, *De Christianis*, (Epistolarum, Liber x. Epist. 97.)

[3] This sentence within the parenthesis is not contained in the "Apologie."

evill, of rycht it aught to forbid it; yf thy law have errit, I trust (sayith Tertulian) he was man that maid it, for plane it is it fell not doun frome the heavin. Is it to be wonderit that men faill in making of lawis? Or aught it apeir a strange thing, that by reformatioun wickit lawis be maid of none effect? Doith not daylie experience teache sufficientlie, that the auncient lawis ar removed and done away by the new that ar maid; whairfoir it followeth, that neither the noumber of yeiris, nor yit the autoritie of the law-maker, maketh the law gud, but onlie equitie and justice."

ADDITIOUN.

OFF theis wordis it is plane, that albeit the law maid of men forbid the thing whilk is gud in the self, yit ought it not thairfoir to be judgeit evill; nether yit aught any man absteane frome that whilk is gud, supposing that man be his law condempn the same. And be the contrarie, evill be lawis approveit, doith not yit change the nature, nether yit is it excusabill befoir God, albeit men consent to iniquitie. Followis the rest above writtin:

"Sa that yf the law be unrychteous, of verie rycht it aught to be done away. But how observe thai the law whilk do condempn us? Yf we have done any thing aganis God and the princes, why ar we not heard? Thair is no law that restrayneth or forbiddeth any man to haif that cause debaittit, whilk being hard is abill to defend the self; and thair is no rychteous judge that will condempn untill he knaw first what is committit that the law forbiddeth; nether yit can thai knaw that, untill first thai knaw what it is that is condempnit by the law; whairby it is manifest, that that law is to be suspectit that will not suffer the self to be examinit; yea, and that it is unrychteous, yf unexaminat it stand in any force."

Let the Papistis advert and answer thir reasone of this godlie wryter.

THE ADDITIOUN OF JOHNE KNOX, FOR THE BETTER APPLYCATIOUN OF THE DOCTOURIS WORDIS TO OURE TYME.

IN theis former wordis of Tertulian, it is easie to be espyit what was the estait of the trew Chrystianis in his tyme; to wit, creuellie thai wer murtherit, thair cause never heard, fals and horribill reportis wer spred of thame, and no place of purgatioun nor defence was permittit unto thame; but it was judgeit a sufficient caus of death gif any was namit, or wald confess himself, a Chrystian. When the simpill pepill wer accusit, and did ask the benefit of subjectis, whilk law permittit to all men, to wit, that thai mycht speik in thair awn defence, and be convictit of sum notorious crymes by testificatioun of unsuspect personis, befoir thai suld be adjudgeit to death or torment; when this, I say, thai requyrit of judgeis, it was answerit, That Chrystianis aught not to be heard in judgement, neither suld thai be permittit to speik in thair awn defence, because that the Romane lawis have defynit the contrarie. And farther, it was answerit, that because thai wer despysers of the Romane Goddis and of the auncient Religioun, that na man aught to admit thair reassonis, either yit to entir with thame in disputatioun. I call to record (yf men will not speik) the heavin and the earth, and the unreasonabill creatures thairin conteanit, yf the same be not the conditioun and intreatment of Chrystis trew servandis this day, and yf that oure adversareis be not cummit to the same blindnes whairin the former idolateris wer drounit.

sebius and ieris do wit- s.

The difference standeth onlie in this, that the persecutoris of oure dayis have usurpit the name of the Kirk and of Catholick Christianis, and have imposit upon us the names of Lutherianis, Sismatickis, and Heretikis. But heirto I schortlie answer, that neither the name falslie usurpit, neither yit wrangfullie imposit, doith justifie or condempne the matter befoir God; and that I prufe be the wordis of my maister Chryst Jesus, thus reassoning aganis the Jewis, who blasphemouslie had imposit upon

fference be- ene the aun- nt Idolatoris d Persecutoris oure tyme.

him the odius name of Beelzebube, and proudlie had usurpit to thame selves the name of Abrahamis seid and childrene. Thus, I say, did Chryst reassone aganis thame: "I have no divill; but do glorifie my Father who hath sent me." "Yf ye wer the sonis of Abraham, ye suld work the workis of Abrahame; but now work ye the workis of youre father the Divill, whois desyres ye fulfill: he was a manslaer frome the begynning." Heirof it is evident, that as a name wrangfullie imposit against innocentis doith not hurt thame in Godis presence, so a name falslie usurpit, (yea, albeit it aperteane to thame be liniall descent,[1] or be successioun, and approbatioun of men,) profitteth nothing whair the workis ar found contrarious to the titillis. The questioun is not moveit betuix us and oure adversareis, What glorious titillis thai haif usurpit to thame selves, or what odius names thai haif imposit upon us? But heirin standeth the controversie, that nether ar thai sic as thai pretend, nether yit sic as the blind and superstitious fulischnes of men haif lang beliveit thame to be, nethir yit ar we sic as we ar accusit; for this at all tymes we offer to prufe, that the Scrybis, Phariseis, and princeis of the Preistis, wer not so far degenerat frome the futstepis of Abraham, and frome the puritie of the law gevin to Moses, and to the pepill by him, as oure adversaries, who now persecute us, ar sliddin frome the puritie of Chrystis doctrine, and frome the simplicitie of his Apostillis and primative Kirk. Mat. 12. Johne 8.

And whair oure adversaries do continewallie cry, against heretickis ought na man to disput, for former lawis haif condempnit thame, and that thair religioun, confirmed be consent and determinatioun of consallis, aught not to be callit in doubt. To the first I answer, Yf libertie may be permittit unto us to gif a reassone of oure faith, we dout not to prove oure selves to be no uthir heretickis than Paule confessit him self to be, to wit, that so we worschip the God of oure fatheris, that stedfastlie we beleive whatsoever is writtin in the Law and Pro- The schot-ank and cheif reassonis of Papist Act. 24.

[1] In the MS. "dissent."

phetis, and that we do moreover observe in religioun whatsoever the Halie Gaist hath sanctifeit by the Word of Chryst Jesus, or by the practise of his Apostillis. And to the secund, I say, That yf any law condempn a man befoir examinatioun and knawledge of his cryme, that the authour, devyser, and mantener of that law is the Divill and not God. For God hath expresslie commandit that no man die except that he be convictit of sum cryme worthie of deth by the mouthis and witnessing of tuo or thrie witnessis. Now, sa it is that the caus whairfoir we ar condempnit and cruellie persecutit hath never yit bene debaittit in presence of any judge, indifferent in France or els whair, whair that Romische Antichryst beireth dominioun. Neither hath any cryme worthie of death bene proved aganis us; for as concernyng thair religioun, whilk thai cry is vilependit and dispysit be us, we gladlie confess and grant thair accusatioun, giveing most hartie thankis unto God, wha of his great mercie hath instructit oure hartis and illuminatit the eyis of oure myndis, to understand and sie the vilanie and abominatioun of the same. But yit we affirme, that the contempt of thair Religioun is no juster cause of death this day then was the contempt of the auncient Idolatrie in the dayis of the Primative Kirk; for the ane and the othir hath one foundatioun, to wit, the devyse, braine, and consent of men, as oure adversaries thame selves can not deny; for better assurance of thair religioun haif thai not, then is the consent and determinationis of Consallis, in whilk gif thai alledge that the Halie Gaist was President, and did reule; we answer, first, That as that article is difficill to be provin, so must it haif othir witnessis than thame selves; and, secundlie, we say, That the Halie Gaist can not be contrarious unto the veritie of God the Father anis pronuncit. And mair than evident it is, that God, speiking by the mouth of Moses, hath takin all power and autoritie fra his pepil and Kirk, not onlie to establish and apoynt unto him any new religioun, but also to alter or to change any thing in that religioun whilk he hath sanctified by

The Consall that defyneth any thing against the expressit Word of God, is not reulit be the Halie Gaist.

his Word. For that is the soverane honour whilk man can gif unto God, to heir his voce, to be obedient unto it, and to presume nathing in matteris of his worschipping without the assurance of the same; and heirof in Deutrenomie ar we planelie taught. And thairfoir, I say, that to contempn and dispyse that religioun whilk hath no uther ground nor assurance except the consent and determination of men, (under what colour soever thai be gatherit,) is no cryme befoir God, nether yit any sufficient cause of death in the presence of reasonabill men. For the reasonis of oure adversareis ar na stranger this day aganis us, then wer the reassonis of tirannis and idolateris aganis the first Martyris.

But omitting at this present farther disputatioun in this matter, let us heir what Tertulian further sayeth, as oure Brethrene wryt in thair Apollogie:

"Althocht you continewallie prais Antiquitie, against the whilk as yow alledge Christianis do offend, ye nevertheles, from day to day, can leif of a new fassioun, and reteane thingis that yow aught to leave, and leave thingis that yow aught to keip." Cap. 6.

ADDITIOUN.

GIF this godlie Wrytter suld this day live, or suld be sent to contemplat the estait of the Chrystiane religioun (as thai do terme it), and suld behold the lyfe and conversatioun of thois that by fyre and sword defend it, what think we suld be his sentence, or to whilk part suld he gif his vote? He did dampn the Gentiles, becaus thai praisit Antiquitie in word, and yit in lyfe, maneris, and conversatioun, thai wer found insolent; and also, that thai omittit thingis that wer to be done, and did thingis that wer to be omittit. I wald desyre of oure adversareis, that affectionis laid apart, thai mycht onlie discend in thame selves and behold the matter as it is in deid, and that thai wold not judge nor esteame the childrene of God to be so blind now that thai can not discerne betuix darkness and lycht. They cry in the earis of the ignorant multitude, Antiquitie,

fulische
of ignorant
istis.

antiquitie, antiquitie, Fatheris, fatheris, Consallis, consallis, approve oure Religioun. And we answer, that most gladlie will we that Antiquitie, Consallis, and Fatheris judge in oure cause, provydit, (as Tertulian in the same chapter requyreth,) that that religioun be judgeit maist pure and perfyt whilk salbe proved maist auncient, and that the Fatheris nor Consallis be not authorised against the manifest testimony of the Halie Gaist; nether yit that thai be admittit speiking contradictioun in ane and the same matter. For heirin standeth oure assureit ground, that as God is authour of oure Religioun, (whilk thing at all times we offer to mak manifest,) so is the Papisticall religioun of no such antiquitie as falslie thai boist, but that it is a confusioun patchit fra tyme to tyme by the subtilitie of Sathan, and by the fulische branis of men.

the Papist
ak, and beir
nes in his
cause.

And to mak this matter mair evident to the simpill, I will desyre thair awn answer of the antiquitie of the tuo cheif groundis of thair kingdome, to wit, of the Supremacie and power absolute of the Bischope of Rome, and of Transsubstantiatioun. In what age, I wold ask, wer theis tuo articles admittit and ressavit universallie in the Kirk? Plane it is, that thair Supremacie, whilk this day is alledgeit a necessarie article of oure faith, cannot be proved of greatter antiquitie then Phocas, that tratour, who murthering his maister, Mauricius the empriour, his wyfe and thrie children, Theodorus, Tiberius, and Constantine, maid him self empriour; and to purchase the favour of the Romanis, did pronunce Bonifacius the Fourth, then Bischope of Rome,[1] to be Supreme heid of all bischopis, and that the Kirk of Rome suld be the mother and mistres of all uthir kirkis. And thair Transsubstantiatioun, that horribill ydoll thair god of bread, was be tirannie establissit, first in the dayis of Pope Nycolas the Secund[2] (sum say the Third), who, in the Consall of Lateran, compellit Berengarius to recant, and schamefullie to abrenunce his former doctrine of the Lordis Supper (by thame

ablishing
nssubstan-
ioun.

[1] A. D. 607–614. [2] A. D. 1058–1061.

callit the Sacrament of the Altar), and to affirme that blasphemous and dampnabill errour of Transsubstantiation, confessing that that Consall did teache him, that efter the wordis whilk thai call of consecratioun, thair resteth na mair bread and wyne, but that Chrystis verie bodie and blude is thair not onlie sacramentallie, but also sensibillie (that is to say, that it may be sene and felt,) brokin and eattin with the handis and teith of the preistis. This blasphemous doctrine was unknawn to the Primative Kirk, yea, to the auncient wrytteris and fatheris, as thair doctrine and wryttingis do witnes, till the tyme of Lanfrancus, a monk whom the Divill usit as ane apt instrument for that purpois, to bewitche and blind the said Pope Nycolas, who did efter establish that horrible heresie for a necessarie article of oure faith, as may be sene in the Decre, in the titill namit *De Consecratione, distinc.* 2., "*Ego Berengarius*";[1] and also in the Decretall *De Summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica*, begynning "*Firmiter tenemus.*"[2] Let thame now glorie and bost of the antiquitie of theis thair tuo cheif corner-stonis, whilk sall evidentlie prove thair Supremacie to haif bene denyit unto thame by the autoritie of Generall Consallis sax hundreth yeiris efter Chryst, and the othir to haif had no credit nor place in the universall Kirk a thousand and odd yeiris efter the dayis of the Apostillis. Now, seing theis thair tuo cheif groundis ar of so lait dayis, what fulischnes wer it to judge the rest of thair superstitiounis, and found ceremonies divysit for lucre, to be of any sic antiquitie as thai boast. But lat thame be so auncient as thai can prove thame, we doubt not alwayis to prove oure religioun more auncient.

But to returne to the wordis of Tertuliane: Yf he or any of the auncient fatheris who did knaw and instruct the Primative Kirk, suld behald the Pope sitting in his trone crounit

[1] In the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, it is entitled, "Confessio Berengarii," (Decreti Tertia Pars: De Consecratione, Distinctio ii. Cap. xlii.)

[2] The words are, "*Firmiter credimus*," (Decretalium Gregorii, Lib. i. De Summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica, Tit. i. Cap. i.)

in his Pontificall, having his Cardinallis in thair royall garmentis placeit about him, with the mitred Bischopis in thair rankis, and suld also sie us presentit befoir him, and suld heir us accusit as heretickis and sismatickis, becaus we will not confess that all power in heavin and erth is geven to the Pope, that he is the heid of Chrystis Kirk, and that the interpretatioun of Scriptures is in *imo pectoris sui*, and subject to his judgement; that his Cardinallis ar companiounis to kings, becaus thai ar of his creatioun, and all earthlie poweris ar so subject to him, that whome he exalteth must be exaltit, and whome he dejectis or deposeis must haif no honour nether with God nor man. Yf, farther, he suld alledge that none of his preceptis nor workis aught to be callit in questioun, becaus the judge may be judgeit be none; and thairfoir the religioun whilk he approveth must be gude, becaus the Popeis halines, whilk is nether God nor man, but a mixed persone, can not err. And finallie, yf he suld blowe the trumpet of joy to his bischopis, and say, Rejoise ye, my brethrene, for we ar exemptit from that precept whilk was gevin to the first biggeris of the Kirk, to wit, that thai suld ga and preache Chrystis Evangell; no, that was ane age and we ar another; we ar cum now to the fulness of oure glorie, and thairfoir must we reule realmes and nationis; the infancie of the Kirk was but povertie and afflictioun, but we ar now cum to force and dignitie, aganis the whilk whosoever dar whisper we haif vengeance readie pareit, and thairfoir must theis heretickis either recant or die. And yf we maist humillie suld requyre, that Godis maist halie and plane Word mycht judge betuix us and him, and that he suld usurpe no power nether in justificatioun of himself, neither in condempnatioun of us, without the assurance and plane testimony of the same Word, but that oure request suld be rejectit, and a suddane cry suld be heard, oure halie Mother the Kirk, Fatheris, Consallis, and Antiquitie, haif approved oure autoritie, and haif grantit us power to do what we list, thairfoir to call the same in doubt is heresie, alreadie dampnit. Yf Tertu-

liane, I say, suld stand and heir this maner of reasonyng, I pray yow what face and ordour of judgement suld he pronunce it to be. I doubt not but it suld appeir to him verie strange, for na sic face of Kirk was sene in his dayis, neither yit did any bischope usurpe in his tyme sic power and autoritie, but by the Word of God was all controverseis decydit in the Kirk. The bischopis, as weill of Rome as of uther citeis, provinceis, and places, wer preacheris and, for the maist part, martyris. But none of thame did usurpe the power of earthlie princes, nether did thai haunt or frequent the courtis of great men, except that it was to mak sum requeist for the afflictit Christianis. And as for Cardinallis, (suche as now we haif companionis, and more, to Kingis,) that age knew none. And thairfoir, I say, that I am assureit that Tertuliane suld pronunce his former sentence, and suld say, "Theis men of Kirk ar in all poyntis becum lyke to the auncient Gentillis who did first persecut Chryst Jesus in his memberis. For thai clame to antiquitie, and do efter a new fassioun, thay leif undone that whilk cheiflie thai aucht to do, to wit, to instruct the pepill, and trewlie to preache Chrystis Evangell; and thai do theis thingis whilk thai aught not to do, to reule lyke tirantis, and to persecut the Chrystianis whilk rebukis thair tiranie and impietie, superstitioun, idolatrie, and insolent lyfe. And theis simpill men who desyre reformatioun of religioun now decayit, and thair cause to be tryit be Godis Word, ar in all poyntis lyke to oure brethren the Chrystianis in my dayis, for whome I wrait my Apologie and Defence. But theis hornit and mytred monsteris wer not sene nor knawin in the Kirk in my dayis." The same sall everie godlie wrytter and father thrie hundreth yeiris efter him affirme. Whilk thing, God willing, some day I sall mak evident to sic as list tak pane to reid the veritie conteanit in thair wryttingis.

But now let us follow the Apologie of oure Brethrene[1] whilk

[1] The words, "the Appollogie of oure Brethrene," are repeated in the MS.

thus proceideth, yit adduceing for thair defence the wordis of Tertulian:

Cap. 6. "Now will I answer to theis sclanderis whilk be laid to oure charge, tuiching the horribill wickitnes that is reportit we suld secreitlie commit. Thair be that accuse us with the murthering of litill childrene: thair be that report, that efter we haif bankettit and oure candillis put out, we commit incest and maist vyle huirdome. We haif bene oft stollin upon in oure assemblies; we haif bene oft oppressit in oure congregationis, and who ever yit found a chyld bleiding? who hath sene any touche or lyklihude of ane harlote amangis oure wemen? What is he that hath sene theis thingis, and hath hid the same? Yf ye say we commit theis thingis secreatlie, how then cum ye to the knawledge of thame? Yf ye knaw thame not of your selves, how can ye knaw thame of strangeris, seing we ressave nane in oure congregationis?

Note the prudence of the Primative Kirk.

Cap 7. "As tuiching commoun report, the nature thairof is knawin to all. The commoun voice, for the most part, bringeth furth but leis, yea, and sum tymes it mingleth the trewth with a lie, either be adding to the trewth, or be diminissing frome the same.

Cap 8. "Now to report oure selves to the conscience of thois that blame us, Sall we find any that will esteme that the nature of man can indure or abyd to murther litill infants? Or els (as it is said) when the candillis ar out, commit suche execribill villany.

Cap. 30. "As tuiching that it is laid to oure charge that we offend aganis the majestie of Princes, be it knawin, that we pray to God for thair health and long lyfe, that thair estait may be preservit frome all dangeris, that thair armes may be strong, that thai may haif wit and prudent consall, and gud and vertewous subjects.

If we do not the same, let oure bukis and wryttingis testifie.

Cap. 37. "How can we be rebellis to oure superiouris, seing we beir pacientlie the wrongis that everie ane doith unto us? Call to your remembrance how oftin ye haif exercisit your crueltie aganis us the Christians? How oftin haif the pepill, in

rage of thair awn autoritie, assailyeit us with stonis and fyre; but whair haif we takin vengeance agane, althocht that in ane nycht, with a litill fyre, we culd sufficientlie revenge oure selves? but God forbid that any suche fyre, maid be [us] for revenge, suld be kendillit, to the sclander or disprais of the doctrine of God. Besydis that, think ye that oure noumber can decay? Seing that the strong nationis that wer aganis yow haif thair limitis and boundis; but we ar scatterit throchout the warld; yea, evin in your tounis and villageis, in your courtis and armeis, your verie houssis ar full of us. Thair remaneth but onlie your tempillis: that we leif for yow allone. Yf oure doctrine did not teache us rather to be slane than to sla, we wald requyre but a few, evin unarmit, to fight aganis yow with onlie ane commotion.

Christianis can not utterlie be distroyit, because thair habitation is not conteanit within certane bondis.

Christianis wold not cum in the tempillis of idolatoris.

"Oure assemblies aught not to be estemit lyke unto the conventickellis and bandis of the seditious, for we do nathing that agrie with sic. Neither for glorie nor ambitioun ar we moveit to assembill together.

Cap. 38.

"But we resort together to the intent, that when we ar assemblit we may pray for oure Princis, and for thois that Governe under thame, for the higher poweris and quyet estait of the Commoun-weill. We cum together to commune and reassone of the Scriptures, and to apply thame to oure tyme; we accumpany together to nurische our faith with halie admonitionis for incressing of oure hoip, and to confirme our selves in the trew faith be the same; and moreover, to learne that whilk the commandementis of God do teache. Amangis us ar usit exhortationis and godlie reformationis; yf any have so faillit, that the same must be exemptit, and repellit frome communicatting with us in prayer, and frome oure company; for the executioun thairof, ar Elderis appoyntit that be approved men, whilk haif that autoritie, for thair godlie worthines, and not for money. Everie ane that is abill bringeth monethlie, or when he will, (for nane is constraynit) sumwhat for comfort of the pure, and thairof is maid a treasour and stoir, the whilk is

Cap. 59. Propheceing whair St Paule speiketh. Corin.

Exhortatioun.

Discipline.

Collectioun of Almes.

not bestowit in banketting and drunkennes, but is hallie[1] imployit to the nurissing of the pure, to the bureing of the dead, and to the releif of the wydow and fatherles children; to the succouring and supporting of the ageit and pure, and of sic as ar in prisone for the mantenance of the treuth of Godis Word.

Let the Bischopis answer.

Doith this maner of meitting of Christianis togidder deserve to be callit unlawfull, whairof nane can compleane, for we ar never assemblit together to hurt or to wrong any bodie? Now, thairfoir, sic cuming together of honest pepill, deserveth rather to be callit a Senat or ane honorabill consall, than a conventioun or factioun.

Cap. 40. Sic is the blindnes of men this day, as France doith witnes. [2]

"Thois names apertene onlie to thois that conspyre aganis the gude and sched innocent blude; and yit nevertheles mak thai the Christianis the caus of all the evillis and plagues that thois wickit indure. Yea, yf Tiber run over and do damage in Rome; yf Nilus watter not the contrie neir it; yf thair be any great derth or earthquake, famine or pestilence, streight way must sum Christiane die for it, althocht that all theis thingis cum to pas in all ageis for the offences that have bene and ar committit aganis God.

Cap. 40.

"Now, not onlie the commoun blind pepill do rejois in the crueltie exercisit aganis us, but also certane of the greattest, whilk ar reularis of the pepill, go to your Judgeis, whilk wold be esteamit the better for slaying of the Christianis. Proceid and go furth in your malice, condempn, torment, and persecute us; for seing that God hath sufferit, why suld not we suffer? yea, and your unrychteous judgementis sall mak oure innocencie the more knawn, and your crueltie sall incres oure noumber; for the scheding of the blud of the Christianis is the seed of thair doctrine. And as for oure part, oure pacience whilk ye call self-opinioun or obstinacie, sall sufficientlie set furth oure cause, that althocht it be condempnit of men, yit is it approved and allowit of God."

Permissioun be mockage.

O Lord, declair thy strenth!

[1] Wholly.

[2] In the margin of the original, "Incontinent qu'il advient quelque mal on crié contre les Chrestiens;" (Immediately any evil happens, a cry is raised against the Christians.)

THE SAME TERTULIAN, IN HIS BUKE MAID TO SCAPULA,[1] WHO WAS PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOUR OF THE TOUN OF CARTHAGE.

"THAIR be that sclander us as concernyng the autoritie of Princes; and yit, nevertheles, thair can nane be found amangis us Christianis lyke unto Albine, or lyke unto Nyce, or to Niger, or ellis to Cassius;[2] for thai indeed wer approved enemyis to all autoritie and higher poweris, and both be solempnit oath, and now declarit thameselves no less, and yit ever thai culd often condempn the Christianis.[3] The Christiane envyeth no man living, muche less his Prince, whome he knawith to be apoyntit his heid, of God, and thairfoir loveth him and honoreth him. We thairfoir honour oure Prince efter sic sort as it becumeth and is meit for him, that is to say, as a man upon earth nixt to

Theis wer traitouris to the Emperour of Rome.

Let Papistis and the Pape mark this.

[1] Scapula Tertullus, Proconsul of Africa.

[2] Tertullian in his Apology, chap. xxxv. also refers to the circumstance, that not one Christian was found engaged in either of the factions of Albinus, Avidius Cassius, or of Niger, who had rebelled against the Roman Emperors of their time.

[3] This sentence, probably by the omission of one or two lines, is not very intelligible. In the "Apologie," the words run thus:—"Mais ceux-la mesmes ont esté aprouvez ennemis de la principauté et puissance souveraine, qui avoyent juré le jour precedent par leur Ange, qui avoyent voué sacrifices, et les avoyent rendus pour leur santé, qui avoyent souvent condamné les Chrestiens." Upon comparing the original words of Tertullian, the sense of the passage may be thus expressed: "Again we are slandered as enemies to the supreme authority of the Emperor; although no Christian has at any time been found in league with the Albinians, &c.: men, who but yesterday swore by the Genius of the Cæsars, who made and became bound to make sacrifices for their health, and who had often condemned the Christians to death; even these men proved themselves enemies (to the Cæsars)."

Minucius Felix, in reference to the custom of the heathens swearing and offering sacrifices, says, "Sic eorum Numen vocant, ad imagines supplicant, *Genium*, id est *Dæmonem* ejus implorant; et est eis tutius *per Jovis Genium* pejerare, *quam Regis*." Lord Hailes, in his translation of the Octavius, remarks, that according to the Civil Law, he who swore falsely *by the Gods*, was left to be punished *by the Gods;* but he who swore falsely *by the Genius of the Prince*, received corporal punishment.

God, whilk holdeth his haill autoritie of God, and is inferiour to nane but to God onlie.

Let oure adversaries answer.

"What is he that hath cause to compleane upon us? Whairfoir is the Christiane trubillit and vexit? Is it for any uthir cause than for religioun? Is any man abill to charge us with incest, with filthie huirdome, or crueltie? Yit for all that, we ar brunt[1] giltles for oure weil-doing, for oure rychteousnes, for oure honestie and faithfulnes; and to be schort, for that we will not leive Godis cause, yea, we ar worse delt with than the robberis of kirkis, than the enemyis of the commoun-weill, yea, than the verie tratouris."

This far the wordis of Tertulian.

Additioun be Johne Knox.

John the 16, 17.

Yf Sathan wer not the prince of this warld, the servandis of God suld not be in this conditioun, that onlie thai for weill doing suld suffer most cruell torment. Gif we wer of this warld, sum favour we suld find, how horribill that ever oure crymes wer; but becaus oure Soverane Captane Chryst Jesus hath chosen us frome the warld, thairfoir doith Sathan, who doith reule in all the sonis of unbeleif, so blind the hartis of erthlie princes, that the fals accusatioun and knawin malice of thois who be the authoris and manteaneris of all iniquitie, yea, and the verie dispyseris of all lawfull autoritie, salbe sufficient to condempn us. The men be Tertulian expressit, wer sumtymes sulderis[2] under the Roman Emperoris, and became be service to be captanis and leaderis of armeis in sundrie Provinces as thai wer apoyntit; but in the end thai became tratouris, and open enemyis to thair maisteris the Emperouris, as Elius Spartianus, Julius Capitolinus, and Lampridius,[3] who do wryt the Lyves of Emperouris, do witness. And yit wer theis men maist cruell persecutouris of the Christianis, falslie accusing thame that thai wer a seditious and rebellious pepill to princes, when yit in verie

Bischopis of the Popis apoyntment, autoris of all iniquitie and enemyis to all lawfull and godlie autoritie.

[1] Burned.
[2] Soldiers.
[3] The three principal writers in the collection entitled, "Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores VI."

deid no Christiane did ever pretend to sic rebellioun as thai did. Men, I dout not, do this day wonder at the blindnes of that age. But yit, allace! gyf the blindnes and crueltie of theis oure dayis be rychtlie considderit, it far exceideth all crueltie and blindnes that hath bene knawin since the begyning. For in the dayis of maist blind idolatrie, sum wer found, evin amangis thois that wer ignorant of God, that did lament the cause of the Christianis, as by Plinie the Secund we may learne. Vertew was haldin, moreover, in sum estimatioun, and opin vyces wer reputit so execrabill, that seldome it was that knawin malefactoris and infameit personis wer promotit to honouris, or admittit for witnessis aganis suche as wer accusit. But now, allace! in the courtis of thois that wilbe callit "Maist Christiane Kingis," who ar promotit to greattest honouris? Wha be in the Secreit Consall, and for the privie effairis? Plane it is, men of maist dissolut and ungodlie lyfe. Wha now ar admittit to accuse maist godlie and maist chaist ladeis? Infamous wemen, yea, maist horribill harlotis; yea, sum of thame also being of the Privie Consall.

The rest of the enormities I omit, returnyng to that whilk the warld can not deny, to wit, that Princeis ar now mair blind than ever wer any befoir oure ageis. The memberis of Chrystis bodie, and the trew professouris of his Word, haif bene most cruellie persecutit, weill neir the space of 40 yeiris, since the revyving of Chrystis trew Evangell. The cause is pretendit for Heresie, and for the contempt of the Religioun. But doith that, think men, sa inflame the hartis of reularis aganis us! No; assuredlie thair is another lurking hatred besydis this: For the matter is easie to be espyit, that thois that maist cruellie do persecut oure Brethrene, ar not so religious in all poyntis as thai pretend, for thai will not stick for a temporall commoditie to suffer Lutherianis (as thai do call thame) profess what religioun thai will within thair contrey and dominionis; yea, and farther, of purpois to annoy and hurt thair enemye, or to advance, as thai suppois,

Ane plane prufe that Princes persecute us not for zeall of religioun.

thair interprysis, in warris thai will not refuse to be in lieg and freindschip with the open enemye of Chrystis religioun, the Turk; whairof it is manifest, that the onlie zeall of religioun moveth thame not to rage aganis us. But Sathan perceaving whairin his kingdome may be hurt, doith privilie whisper, be the venemous toungis of pestilent Papistis, and be sic as be hyrit servandis to Cardinallis and Bischopis, in the earis of Princeis, that we pretend sum seditioun and rebellioun aganis thame, and thairfoir must we be repressit, or els princeis sall lose thair autoritie.[1] For this cause is the rage of princeis kendillit aganis us in sic sort, that open brigandis do find more favour in presence of princes and judgeis than we do. But allace! how ar princeis inchantit, blindit, and bewitchit be the Divill, that thai persecut thair trew subjectis, who, nixt to Godis glorie, do principallie manteane the cause, honour, and authoritie of thair princeis? For the cheif cause why the Pope and his kingdome do hait and persecut us, is that we affirme that na power on earth is above the power of the Civill reular; that everie saule, be he Pope or Cardinall, aught to be subject to the higher Poweris. That thair commandementis, not repugnyng to Godis glorie and honour, aught to be obeyit, evin with great loss of temporall thingis.

Sic as thir wer did never Courtis lack.

We do defend the autoritie of Princes, and yit thai persecut us.

Theis propositionis, I say, do we susteane and affirme (as oure bukis and wryttingis do witnes) aganis the Pope and his usurpit autoritie. For whilk cause that haill rabbill dois cheiflie hait us, for we affirme and mak plane, that thai haif quyte overthrawin the lawfull power and autoritie of Princes, and what man is so blind that cleirlie doith not sie the same?

[1] In the margin of the MS., the transcriber has added: "1603. Oure lait printit Testament, or Consall to the Prince, against Puritens, is lyke this." This refers to the "Basilicon Doron" of King James. Immediately upon his accession to the Crown of England, in 1603, it was published both at London and Edinburgh; and in this work, the Royal author characterises the Puritans as "*very pestes in the Church and Common-weale;*" and advises the Prince to "cherishe no man more then a good Pastor," and to "hate no man more then a proude Puritane."—(Pp. 41–43.)

For thai onlie will live in the dominioun of Princes, and yit will not be subject to thair lawis. To princes thai will neither pay toll nor tribut, except it be of thair awn benevolence, and maist commounlie too by the blude of innocentis, whois haill studie is to bring thame under obedience and subjectioun to thair princes. And no power will thai acknawledge and confess above thair Pope, whair be the contrarie, with Tertulian, we affirme, that the Emperour and everie Prince within his awn dominiouns, hath his haill autoritie of God, and is inferiour to none but to God onlie. And farther, that neither Bischope, Cardinall, nor Pope, aught more to be exemptit fromc giveing obedience, paying of tribut, and of other dewteis aperteanyng to Kingis, than ar the commoun sort of peple. This battell susteane we, aganis this generatioun of Anti-Chryst, amangis othiris, for mantenance and defence of oure Princes, and of the civill poweris. And yit, allace! ar Kingis so blindit, that thai who haif deposit Princes, reft and changeit kingdomes frome the lawfull inheritoris, have rebellit aganis Emperoris; yea, haif causit the sonis rebell aganis thair fatheris: Theis men, I say, yea, theis sa manifest tratoris, sall haif place to accuse and traduce us of treasone and seditioun conspyrit or intendit aganis oure Prince; and thair accusatioun and fals report salbe admittit, how vane that ever it be. But with this blindnes hath God justlie strickin Princes, that they embrace and credit thair mortall enemyis, and cruellie do murther thair trew subjectis and freindis, and that becaus thai haif na delyte nor pleasure in the brychtnes and treuth of his maist halie Word. But greatlie it is to be feirit, leist that God, according to this his sentence pronunced, "Who contempneth me, sall be without honour, and sall fall in ignominie and schame;" "God doith poure furth contempt and confusioun aganis the Princeis, and upon poweris wha sall rebell aganis him;" aganis God, I say, and aganis Chryst Jesus his Sone, sa

Why, and when, Bischopis and Preistis ar maist liberall to thair Princes.

Popis haif declarit this and more.

The blindnes of Princes. King James the 6.[1]

1 Kings 2.

Psa. 107.

[1] This and some other of the marginal notes are evident additions by the transcriber of MS. M.

lovinglie calling, and sa pacientlie abyding for thair repentance. Lang hes He sufferit the blude of his sanctis to be sched, and
Apo. 6. it continewallie cryeth a vengeance aganis the tirantis that in-
Luc. 18. habit the earth. Oure Maister Chryst Jesus hath assureit us that oure heavinlie Father is mair pitifull, and mair redie to heir us, and to revenge oure cause, wha now ar maist unjustlie persecutit, than was the wickit judge to delyver the wydow frome the tiran that did trubill hir. Assuredlie the childrene of God do this day, in everie realme and contrey, cry with
Psa. 79. David, "Lat the blude of thy sanctis whilk is sched be opinlie revengeit befoir oure eyis."

Admonitioun. I wald that Princes suld considder and understand, that "the eares of the Lord ar inclynit to the prayer of sic as feir
Psa. him." "Albeit his Majestie appeir for a seassone to forget
Psa. us, yit doith he receave oure tearis in his bottell." "And oure gronis ar unto him a sacrifice of sueit odour, and thairfoir he will not confound oure faces for ever." I will speik a
My boldnes is groundit upon the assurance of Godis promeis, upon his justice and power. bold, but yit a most trew word: Mair aught the Princes and poweris of the earth [to] fear oure spirituall weaponis, whilk be continewall prayer, sobbis, and gronis of our hartis, whilk by our onlie Mediator Chryst Jesus, we present befoir God, craveing redress of the great injuries whilk we susteane; mair, I say, aught Kingis and Princes to feir theis oure weaponis than the force and assalt of many legionis of temporall
Exod. 1 and 2. enemyis. For the cry of the Israelittis moveit God to send
Exo. 17. Moses to plague proude and tirannous Pharo. The prayer of
2 Reg. 18 2 Parali. 32. Esay the 36. Moses gat the victorie to Josua fichting aganis Amaleck. The angusche and dolorous complaynt of Ezechias, with the sobbis of the rest of the godlie with him, obteanit of God the great overthraw and slauchter maid without the hand of man in the
1 Reg. 17. hoist of Senacherib. Helias, be his prayer schut up the heavin, that rane nor dew discendit not thrie yeiris and sax
2 Reg. 6. monethis. And Heliseus, finallie, be prayer, struke with blindnes, and led away captive and as prisonneris, the soldieris and horsmen of the King of Siria to the presence of the King of

Israell. God hath this day his childrene on earth who sorelie ar oppressit. The spreit of Moses sall not be ydill when Josua, at his commandement, prepareth to battell. And albeit we have na sic King (whilk greatlie is to be lamentit) as Ezechias was, yit do I knaw that God hath his prophetis this day in earth, whois prayeris in Chryst Jesus ar acceptabill befoir him; yea, and he of his power giveth to dyvers the spreit of Elias, opinlie to cry that the iniquitie of Achabis hous is the caus of all misereis this day in Israell. To speak the matter in plane wordis, the iniquitie and tirannie of Princes is suche, that God can of his just judgementis no langer delay vengeance, except reformatioun and speadie repentance be found. And thairfoir, I say, Princes ought to tak heid and no langer to provock and tempt the lang pacience of the Almychtie; for he that drounit Pharo and his armie, efter admonitioun and dyvers plaguis susteanit, and tuke fra Nebuchadnezar reasone, wit, and forme of man, may easelie deject thame frome glorie, power, and autoritie, and may pour furth contempt upon thame, making thame sclaves, becaus thai haif prophanit the throne of his glorious Majestie, and haif abusit the autoritie whilk of him thai haif ressavit.

The small flock can never be utterlie destitut of trew Preacheris, who are Prophetis.

In few wordis, to speik my conscience, the regement of Princes is this day cum to that heap of iniquitie, that na godlie man can bruke office or autoritie under thame; but in so doing, he salbe compellit, not onlie aganis equitie and justice to oppress the pure, but also expressedlie to fight aganis God and his ordinance, either in mantenance of idolatrie, or ellis in persecuting Godis chosin childrene. And what must follow heirof, but that either Princeis be reformit, and be compellit also to reforme thair wickit lawis, or els that all gud men depart fra thair service and company. And yf oure enemyis think that the departing of sic as thai call heretickis salbe thair advantage, let thame considder, that as the possessioun of the new earth, whilk God sall creat for the inheritance of his childrene, is promissit and appoyntit for the just onlie,

Let sic as serve Princeis in officeis advert.

Commoun-weallis ar conservit for the caus of the just.

that so ar the estaitis of theis commoun-wealthis conserved
14. for a tyme evin for thair cause. The spoyle of Sodome and Gomorra, whilk the fyve Kingis had lost in battell, was reduceit and brocht agane be Abrahame and his servandis, few
19. in noumber in respect of sic a multitude. So lang as Lot remanit within thois citeis, the Angell confessit that he mycht not poure furth Godis apoyntit vengeance; but when he was departit, and nothing restit except rottin, dry, and withered treis, the heavins culd na langer containe the fyre, but with speid and violence sent furth the flamyng brimstone to consume thois ungodlie who long had provockit that vengeance aganis thame. God, for his great mercies sake, oppin, and by tyme so illuminat the hartis of men, that thai may admit admonitioun befoir that his anger be farther provokit! Amen.

Theis thrie Additionis I culd not but add to this godlie Apologie and Defence of oure Brethrene, and gladlie wold have farther travellit in the same, but that the tyme wold not suffer now. At more opportunitie the Brethrene sall knaw farther of my mynd. Now to the rest:

(APOLOGIE.)

halie doc- the cheirest ig the Gre- l of that age, chit befoir at 140.

THE WORDIS OF JUSTINE MARTYR, IN A DIALOGUE WHILK HE MAID WITH TRIPHONE AGANIS THE JEWIS.

"BEHOLD, I say, ar not ye persuadit that we eat mannis flesche, and that efter banketting, the candellis ar put out for the committing of maist filthie huirdome? Do ye not seame to condempn us of this cryme, for asmuche as ye gif sic credite to sic wordis, that ye will not beleive us, but rather conceave this report to be trew? That thing, sayeth Triphone, maketh us muche to mervale, and yit me think that the report whilk is maid of yow is not meit to be beliveit, becaus the nature of man abhorreth suche thingis; and lykwyse I knaw, that the commandementis expressit to you in the Gospell do straitlie forbid suche impietie; yea, theis commandementis ar so merva-

lous and so great, that I think nane can keip thame, for I have takin muche pane to revolve and reid your bukis."

THE SAME WRYTTER IN THE FIRST APOLOGIE FOR CHRISTIANIS.

"WHILL I had a pleasure in the doctrine of Plato, heiring that thois Christianis whilk wer accusit, feirit nathing at all, neither death, neither yit any other thing, how horribill that ever it was, trewlie that maid me to think that there was na sic vyce in thame as was reportit; neither yit that thai wer gevin to thair awin lustis and pleasures. For what is he that is carnall, and gevin to the lustis of this warld, that willinglie will go to death, by the whilk he sall lose all commoditeis and pleasures?"

Hitherto the wordis of Justine Martyr.

FOLLOW THE WORDIS OF ST CYPRIAN IN HIS FIRST TREATISE AGAINST DEMETRIAN.

This godlie wrytter, who usit to call the buk of Tertulian his wryttingis, his maister, florischit in the yeir efter Christ 246.

"THOW sayis that many compleanyng, do report that the continewall weiris, pestilences, famynis, and lang raynis, is evin be the meanis of us; and that all the evillis that trubill the warld aught to be laid to oure charge, because we serve not thair godis; whairas thai thameselves knaw the contrarie, and that it is becaus God be thame is not served."

ARNOBIUS, IN HIS EIGHT BUKE AGANIS THE GENTILLIS,[1] WHAIR, IN THE PERSONE OF CECILIUS THE PAYNIM,[2] HE REHERSETH ALL THOIS CRYMES THAT OF LANG TYMES WER LAID TO THE CHRISTIANIS CHARGE; AND IN THE PERSONE OF OCTAVIUS THE CHRISTIANE, HE MAKETH ANSWER TO THOIS SCLANDERIS.

This halie man flourischeth efter Christ, in the yeir 286; in whilk tyme thair was maid so cruell and gret persecutionis of Christianis in the west partis, that in the space of 30 dayis, in dyvers provinces, did more than 20,000 personis, men and wemen, suffer mertirdome, and principallie for thair Christian assembleis.

"THE sect of Christianis (sayith Cecilius the Paynim) is a heap of maist ignorant pepill, of foollis, of fraill wemen, and

[1] The following extracts are erroneously ascribed to Arnobius: See note to page 333.

[2] "Paynim," Heathen, Pagan; in the "Apologie," Payen.

of suche as be licht of beleif; thay whilk cluster togidder, and meit in congregationis by nicht. Thay ar a pepill that love corneris and darknes, and flie fra the lycht. Opinlie thai say nothing, but ar babilleris and pratteris in secreit. Thay pass not[1] upon churchis, thai be mokeris and dispyseris of the godis and of thair service; and with a mervelous folie and ane unspeakable boldnes, thai dispyse present tormentis and onlie fear thois that ar to cum; and to eschaip to die efter thai be deid, fear not to die in this warld. And as evill thingis do grow faster than otheris, evin so doith this sect spring up daylie throughout all the warld. Thay ar a sort that knaw ane another be certane signis amangis thame selves. Thay love ane another befoir thai be acquentit, and becum as it wer a religioun of huirdome and wickitnes. Thay call brother and sister, that thair accustomit huirdome may turne into incest; yea, yf thair wer not sumwhat, this report wald not be sa great. It is said, that thai kill and eat amangis thame litill childrene; and that that is reportit of thair bankettis is countit trew; that is to say, that thai cum together with thair awn children, sisteris, motheris, and with all uthir kyndis of what age soever thai be, and efter thair excessive eatting and drinking, the candellis being put out, thay mingill together, committing all maner of vilany and incesteous huirdome. I leif many thingis besydis that be spokin of thame; for theis ar sufficient to deface thair Religioun, that thai use it secreatlie and in corneris: for honest thingis love ever to be abroad and to be sene, but that whilk is evill would alwayis be hid. Why have thai no alteris nor tempillis? Why do thai never utter thair myndis oppinlie? Why ar thai not cum together frielie? Yf that whilk thai worschip deserve not punisment, what maketh thame aschamit? The more part and better part, as thai say, be pure, and suffer cald and famyne, and yit thair God

[1] "Thay pass not," they care not, they disregard; in the "Apologie," *qui ne tient conte des temples*, (temples they make no account of).

passes not[1] for thame. Thay ar threatnit, thai ar harlit to the gibbet, and gallous, and to the fyre, and yit thair God delyvereth thame not. Thay forsake all pastyme; thay use no gamyng, nor open banketting; thay be pale and feirfull; and whill thai luke for ane eternall lyfe, thai seme not to live at all. Whairfoir, I counsall yow Christianis, yf yow haif any wit at all, to cease frome seiking so high thingis, forasmuche as ye be unlearnit, evill taught, rude, and suche as can not understand the matteris of this warld, muche less the matteris of God."

THE ANSWER OF OCTAVIUS THE CHRISTIANE.

"IT is no mervale that Cecilius, knawing not the treuth, be careit away with dyvers and contrarie opinionis, not knawing whilk to hald. But to the intent that sic vanitie spread no farther, but may be defaceit by schewing of the veritie, the multitude of thois matteris whilk he hath spokin salbe sufficientlie confutit. He is greatlie greivit that the pure and unlearnit do disput of Heavinlie thingis; whairunto I answer, That God hath creatit all men meit to have understanding and reasone, of whome thai ressave wisdome, and not of fortune. And, moreover, in disputatioun and reasonyng, men travell not to searche unto the dignitie of the dispute, but onlie the treuth of the matter whilk is in questioun. Furthermore, seing God hath gevin all men eyis to behald the heavins, the Word contaynit in the Scriptures, and reassone, all men ar bound to knaw him; yea, and it is no less sin not to knaw him then to transgress his commandements.

"He sayeth, that we love corneris and secreit places; and yit either for feir, either for schame, thair be that will not heir us opinlie. We set nocht by thair godis, nor yit by thair service, for we knaw that the haill sowme of it is devysit be the folie and brane of man. We dispyse thair tormentis, and stryve valientlie against the horroris of deth,

[1] "Passes not," see note to the previous page.

becaus that the presence of God, oure Captane, makith us so hardie. This is the cause why a great sort of us have indureit to be brunt without making any great ado.[1] Yea, the verie children and wemen seime as it wer to skorne the gibbetis and tormentis, thro the great pacience that is gevin thame. And yit, O yow miserable! yow can not understand how that nane will thus offer thameselves to suffer without sum reassonis. And that nane culd abyd constantlie any torment except God assistit the same.

God gif us this to schyne befoir men!

"And as tuiching the increassing of oure noumber fromo day to day, it is na signe of errour, but of prais. Indeed we knaw ane another by theis signis, innocencie and sobrietie; lykwyse we lufe ane another, and knaw not the poysone of hatred. We also call oureselves brethrene, as the children of a[2] father, companionis of ane faith, and heretouris of a hoip.

Fame and report ralesit be lies.

"As tuiching the commoun brute whilk chargeth us with detestabill sclanderis, we knaw that that is sawin be the Divill, becaus men suld hait us befoir thai knaw us, lest yf thai onis knew us thai wold follow us. It is meit, thairfoir, that men inquyre of the treuth, and not to build upon report; the whilk as it nurisseth the self upon lies, evin so doith it die when the treuth is knawin. We do not slay litill children, wha dois not onlie abhoir to murther, but also to heir it spokin. We neither commit huirdome nor incest, neither yit any suche lyke wickitnes, the whilk we wold not think wer in the warld yf we saw thame not in yow. Suche crymes aucht to be imputit and spokin to thois which, evin aganis nature, defyle thameselves with all kynd of villany. It aught to be spokin of thois that esteme huirdome but a sport, and of thois that ar not eschamit to exceid in all maner of vane pleasuris. It aught to be spokin of thois that amangis thair alteris in the middis of thair tempillis, mak thair market with thair hureis, thair barganying with thair baudis, and who devyse how thai

Let Cardinallis and Bischopis purge themselves befoir thai accuse us.

[1] In the "Apologie," *sans qu'ils jettassent de grands cris*, (without their making a great outcry.)

[2] "A," ane, one.

may compass thair huirdomes. Oure religioun is not secreit, neithir yit is it keipit in corneris, althocht we haif neither tempillis nor alteris, for we offer up oure spreittis to God. We serve him in oure hartis; we studie to traine and exercise our lyfe in innocencie, prayeris, and rychteousnes, and to flie frome all kynd of wickitnes. Theis, I say, ar oure sacrifices. We aught not to be mockit for oure povertie, but rather be commendit for the same; for he is not pure that hath God for his riches; wha also is contentit with that whilk is his awn, and doith not desyre the substance of ane other.

Never word h of Chrystis bo offirit in the f of bread.

"God doith not dispyse us in oure afflictionis, neither is he unabill to help us; but he doith governe us, and loving sic as ar his awn, be trubillis he proveth and tryeth thair pacience. And as tuiching tormentis, be ye sure, that the trew soldiour of God is not forsakin when he suffereth; neither by suffering the death doith he perische. We absteane frome your pastymes and inordinat pompis, becaus honestie and vertew is mair worthie to be embraceit, and live sa heir in faith, that we ar assureit of everlasting felicitie. Let us, thairfoir, rejoise in the knawledge of sa high thingis, and rejoising in weildoing, let us flie all ungodlines and superstitioun. God add to us the power of his Spreit, that so we may do!"

Hitherto the wordis of Octavius the Christian.[1]

[1] The author of the "Apologie" has fallen into a mistake which was common at that time, in quoting the preceding passages from the Dialogue "Octavius," as the Eighth Book (Liber Octavus) of Arnobius. This writer flourished towards the end of the third century. His work *Adversus Gentes*, consists only of Seven Books; but it was first published as consisting of Eight Books, under this title: "Arnobii Disputationum adversus Gentes, Libri Octo," Romæ, 1542, folio, and also in later editions. It was afterwards discovered that the Eighth Book was a separate work written by Marcus Minucius Felix, a lawyer at Rome, who is supposed to have lived during the reign of the Emperor Caracalla. His work "Octavius," is a Dialogue, as above quoted, between Cæcilius, a Heathen, and Octavius, a Christian; Minucius, himself, as their common friend, acting as umpire between the two disputants.

This godlie wryter flurisit the yeir efter Christ 171.

THE WORDIS OF ST HILLARIE AGAINST AUXENCIUS.

"Yow that think yourselves Bischopis, I pray yow what warldlie support or help usit the Apostillis in preaching of the Gospell? What higher power stude by thame and tuke thair part in the preaching of Chryst, when thai did as it wer move and change all the Gentillis from thair imageis to serve the liveing God? Had thai gottin any warldlie dignitie, when thai did lye in chaynes and in prisone, sing Psalmes unto God? Yea, efter Paule was whippit and brocht befoir the judgement seat, was maid a jesting stok and spectakill to the warld, did he thairfoir efter assembill any congregatioun or kirk to Chryst by force of the Kingis proclamatioun? He rather, I beleif, defendit him self frome Nero, frome Vespasian, from Decius, throcht whois hatred the confessioun of the trew preaching of the Gospell flurischit. The Apostillis manteanyng thameselves be the labour of thair awn handis, assemblit together in chameris and secreit places, and by-streitis and villageis. Thai compassit as it wer all Nationis, asweill be sea as be land, notwithstanding the decreis, lawis, and ordinances maid and set furth by Kingis and Consallis in the contrarie."

Hitherto St Hillarie his wordis.

IN THE FIRST CHAPTER OF THE FIRST BUKE OF THE ECCLESIASTICALL HISTORIE, COLLECTIT BE EUSEBIUS, THAIR IS CONTEANIT ANE EPISTILL SENT BE THE MARTIRIS OF LYON AND VIENNE[1] TO THE CHURCHES OF ASIA AND PHRIGIA, WHILK CONTENE THEIS WORDIS.

This persecution was in the year after Christ 171.

"THAIR was daylie so great a Persecutioun, evin of the verie weak, and suche as fayntit in thair faith, that all the principall and cheif reularis of tuo Churchis wer committit to prisone. Yea, we had certane infidellis Payenis[2] to oure servandis, the whilk also wer taken; (for the Governour had geven commandement that all suld be serchit out,) and thai being overcum with

[1] Vienne, in Dauphiny, on the banks of the Rhone.

[2] See note, *supra*, p. 329.

the subtelieties of Sathan, and feiring the tormentis that thai had sene the sanctis suffer, by the instigatioun of men of weir whilk forcit thame thairto, inventit matteris aganis us, chargeing us with making privie bankettis, and eatting litill children in the same;[1] and that we did commit sic incest as Œdipus committit; and besydis, that we did othir thingis whilk be neither lawfull for us to speak, to think, nor yit to beleive that ever sic thingis hath bene done of men. Theis thingis being thus spred abrod by report, all men began to use us cruellie, so that thai whilk befoir seemed to favour us, be reasone of the familiaritie thai had with us, became worst and most aganis us.[2] Whairin was performit the same that oure Lord had spokin, that is, 'The tyme sall cum, that whosoever sall put yow to death sall think he doith God gud service.' Whairfoir, at that tyme, the halie Martyris sufferit sa great persecutioun as is unspeakabill, and the Divill usit all his force to compell men to blaspheme."

THE WORDIS FOLLOWING AR WRITTIN IN THE FOURTH BOOKE AND FIRST CHAPTER OF THE ECCLESIASTICALL HISTORIE,[3] WHAIRIN IS DECLAREIT THE GREAT PERSEVERANCE AND CONSTANCIE OF THE CHRISTIANIS IN THE TOUN OF EDESSE, IN THE LAND OF MESOPOTAMIA.

"IT is said that the Emperour Valens,[4] desyreing to sie this assemblie, and knawing that all thois that thair did congregat together abhorrit his heresie, seing so great a multitude, violentlie did give a blowe to the Governour, or Provest of the

This Emper began to rin the yeir eftc Chryst 368.

[1] In the "Apologie," *que nous faisions des banquets de Thyestes, c'est a dire, ou on mangeoit des petis enfans*, (that we make the banquets of Thyestes, that is to say, where they eat little children.)

[2] That is, became most exasperated against us.

[3] The incident recorded in the following extract occurs, not in Eusebius, but in the Ecclesiastical History of Socrates, surnamed Scholasticus, B. iv. ch. xix. It is also recorded in the similar History of Theodoretus, Bishop of Cyrus, B. iv. ch. xvii., who furnishes the name of Modestus, as the Præfect of Edessa.

[4] Valens, the great supporter of the Arian heresy, was the brother of the Emperor Valentinian, who assumed him as colleague in the empire.

citie, because he had not takin order to stay and scatter thame. Now, efter the Provest had ressavit this injurie, commandement was gevin that he suld kill so many as he suld find assemblit together; and he, contrarie his mynd, was compellit to obey the Emperouris furie. Yit, nevertheles, secreitlie he gave warnyng to the Christianis to depart out of that place, for it was aganis his heart to murther sa many pepill. But for all thois threatnyngis, and notwithstanding his secreat warnyng, nane wald obey his consall, but on the morrow thai all assemblit togedder in the house of prayer. Now, as the Provest, accumpanyit with a great band of men of weir, with haist went towarde the place whair thai wer assemblit to execute the Emperouris furie aganis thame, a certane pure woman, leiding hir chyld in hir hand, ran to the place of martirdome and brak the order of the Provestis soldieris; whairwith the Provest being displeasit, commandit hir to be takin, and sayith to hir, 'Whither goest thow so fulischlie, thow fond and unhappie creature!' To whome sche answerit, 'I go thither whair otheris do run.' And he said to hir agane, 'Knawest thow not that the Provest will put all to death that he findeth thair!' The woman answerit him, 'I understand that, and thairfoir I mak the mair haist that I may be found amang thame.' Yit farther the Provest demandit, 'But whither careis thow the chyld!' Sche answered, 'To receave the croun of martirdome with the rest.' The Provest heiring this answer, returnit to the Emperour, and advertisit him of that constancie (whilk he callit follie), how thai wer all assemblit together, and wer readie to suffer the death for thair faith, adding, that it was not reasonabill that so great a multitude of pepill suld be murtherit together; and sa by persuasioun appeasit the Emperouris furie. And thus the Edessianis eschapit the Emperouris wrath, and wer not distroyit and dispersit for that tyme."

Note thair fervencie.[1]

[1] The marginal note in the "Apologie" is, *Response digne de memoire à jamais*, (A reply worthy to be remembered for ever.)

THE PROCLAMATIOUN[1] OF THE EMPEROUR ADRIAN, ADDRESSIT UNTO FUNDANUS, AGANIS THOIS THAT SCLANDER THE CHRISTIANIS, AS IS WRITTIN IN THE FOURTH BUKE OF EUSEBIUS, THE NINTH CHAPTER. This Emperour began to ring the yeir efter Chryst 120.

"I HAVE sene the letteris of Granianus, in whois place thow succeidest, and I think not meit that the cause of Christianis suld be passit over without diligent informatioun, to the end that men may not be trubillit, and the malice of sclanderis manteanit and supportit. And thairfoir, yf thois of that Province committit to thy charge can in judgement dewlie approve that whilk thai lay to the Christianis charge, let thame do so, rather than to accuse thame and onlie cry out upon thame. For it is most meit, that when any is accusit thow first throughlie knaw the cause, and then judge. Yf then any Christiane be accusit befoir thee, and that it can be aproved that he hath committit any offence contrarie to oure lawis, then sall thow judge according to his offence; but yf any sclanderous[ly][2] sall accuse thame, let the same be correctit and punissit as his wickitnes deserveth."

THAIR[3] be dyvers uthir witnessis in the auncient Doctouris that serve for this purpose; and the Historeis thame selves recyte at large what hath bene the estait of the auncient Kirk, in what bondage the pure faithfull have liveit, with what danger thai haif assemblit together, and with what constancie thai have indureit the tormentis that have bene executit aganis thame by the crueltie of tirantis. But we haif judgeit, that these thingis gatherit sall boith suffise to warne the ignorant not to credit reportis that runneth of oure assem-

[1] In the "Apologie," *l'Edit*, (the Edict.)

[2] In Eusebius, "but if any one should propose this with a view to slander." In the "Apologie," *mais si aucune pour calomnier les accuse*, (if any for slander should accuse them.)

[3] In the Addition at page 346, as Knox himself states, this concluding portion of the "Apologie" makes no pretence to being a literal translation.

bling together, and also stop the mouthis of thois that speak evill of us; of the whilk sort sum ar careit away with thair awn malice, otheris ar led by the persuasioun of thair awn wisdome. This, thairfoir, that we have gatherit out of the auncient Fatheris, may instruct the ane and defend us aganis the other. For what is he that at the first will beleive that to be trew that is spokin of us, yf the same understand that of auld tyme the Christianis haif bene burdenit and chargeit with the lyke sclanderis? What is he that perceaving us to be intreatit as thai wer, will not inquyre whether we manteane all one quarrell or not? For this ar we bold to affirme, that being accusit as thai wer, we haif the same innocencie that thai had. Now, on the uther syde, let it be askit of thois that haif any judgement, Why thai call the Gentillis, the idolateris of auld tymes whilk persecutit the Chrystianis, doggis and prophane personis? Will thai not say it is because thai usit aganis innocentis false accusationis, wickit judgementis, and maist cursit crueltie? Yf, thairfoir, thai condempn theis thingis in Paynimis, what salbe thocht of thame that this day fall in the same vyces: Falslie accuseing us, unjustlie condempning us, and using most extreame crueltie aganis us? It is certane that suche as have any feir of God remanyng in thair consciences, do confess that thai abhour the abominationis of the Gentillis;[1] nevertheless, the same men being disceavit throcht ignorance, do run in the self-same condempnatioun; for asmuche as thai persecut us, not perceaving that the cause of the Christianis of the Primative Kirk and ouris is all one. For yf thai assemblit togethir in secreit, becaus thai mycht not be permittit to do the same opinlie, evin so do we. Yf, when thai wer assemblit, thai maid thair prayeris to God, heard his Word, did communicate the halie Sacramentis that oure Lord Jesus Chryst institute in his Kirk, we do evin the lyke. Yf in thair assemblies thai gave sumwhat for the releif of the pure, we do the same also; and have to prais God that a great many pure,

[1] Or "Paynimis," as interlined in MS. M.

seik personis, and suche as ar afflictit, have felt the frute of oure cuming together.

To be schort, yf thai had any order, discipline, or censure amangis thame, we have the same also amangis us. And in verie deid, yf ye oure persecutoris had socht to knaw the treuth, ye suld haif found this whilk we speik to be maist trew, whilk ane thing is abill to justifie and approve the gudness and equitie of oure cause. But how do men now-a-dayis proceid in examinatioun of matteris? Many be inquisitive, many do watche, and many be maist diligent to knaw. But what, I beseche yow? Sum inquyre, In what places do theis heretickis assembill? Othiris do cry, Sall we not now mak ane end of thame; we haif anis found thame out! But neither of theis ask, What hath oure lyfe and conversatioun bene? What have we committit in oure assembleis that deserveth death? Other sum inquyre efter oure goodis,[1] but do never go about to understand oure cause. Sum mak thair rakennyng and accounts, what money sall the King (nay, the insaciabill persecutouris) obtene by oure death, but mak no account how cruell a thing it is to put innocentis to death; And in this meane tyme, everie man, efter his pleasure, forgeth new crymes to lay to our charge, in coloureing and defaceing the cause whairfoir we suffer. In the streittis, in open rayling, and in everie house, thai talk of the crymes committit be us; but thai will not speik it in suche audience as whair it may be lawfull for men to defend thameselves. Whairby it may be easelie perceavit, that lyke as we do the self-same things that the auncient faithfull people, oure predicessouris, did, evin sa we suffer the same wrang that thai did; and thair is at this day none uthir thing laid to oure charge then was laid to the charge of thois of the auncient Kirk. For sum lay to oure chargeis that we be seditious and mak commotionis; the same also was laid to thair charges. Sum say we assembill togidder be nycht

[1] In MS. M. "godis," goods. In the "Apologie," *on s'enquiert quels sont leur biens*, (they inquire what may be their wealth, or possessions.)

to commit huirdome; the lyke was spokin of thame. Sum say we mak bankettis, and efter put out the candillis to commit all maner of villany; the same was reportit of thame. And as sum say we be rebellious to oure Princes; evin so wer thai accusit. Further more, thai wer suddanlie stollen upon in thair assembleis, and had baith stonis and fyre throwin at thame, and wer maist cruellie usit of the commoun pepill; and the same hath bene practisit and usit aganis us. Sa that still the Christianis have bene condempnit, and the pepill have bene sufferit to do what thai wold, whilk in this oure cause is evident to all men. But yf the follie (yea, rather the rage and madnes) of the pepill be not correctit be man, it will not eschaip the judgement of God, who alreadie hath streachit out his arme to tak vengeance, yf men can [perceave] it. Let me reassone with yow, the ignorant, the witles pepill; ye accuse us of heresie, of blasphemie, seditioun, and of all iniquitie, but yf that ye yourselves wer not mair nor inrageit, ye suld wey and considder, Who thai ar that haif faith? Who thai ar that ar culpabill, and who thai ar that deserve punisment? Whether we, that call upon God by godlie prayeris in oure chameris, or ye that, being scatterit in everie streat, blaspheme his holie name, making uprore and crying out, and yit knawing no just cause whairfoir? Who, I pray yow, ought to be judgeit seditious? We that peace[ablie] abyde in a corner, or ye that without crymes and armour trubill all places?[1] Who ryse aganis the King? We whilk, efter we haif prayit unto God for him, and for yow also, wer found togethir without weapoun, and sa wer takin without any resistance maid be us; or ye whilk, without his commandement or authoritie of justice, wer found all the nycht lang in harness?[2] Ye cry out aganis the wickit; and ye onlie ar thay that commit wickitnes. Ye cry out aganis the theivis and brigandis; and ye yourselves commit violence aganis us:

[1] In the "Apologie," *Ou toi qui troubloit tout par ton cri et tes armes*, (or thou who disturbest every thing by thy cry and thy arms.)

[2] Ib., *en armes*, (in armour.)

we wer spoyllit and robbit be yow, but whilk of us can justlie be convictit of injurie done aganis any persone? And yit still ye cry everie whair that we ar wickit, seditious, and disobedient unto oure Prince. But na man luking for the joyfull lyfe to cum (we ar assureit) will efter this beleive your vane talk; neither yit gif credit to the common report, nor to thois most fals and spytfull lies noysit abroad of us and laid to oure charge (as befoir is said), that we cum together in the nycht seasone to commit huirdome. But frome whence sall this conjecture proceid? or what appearance or lykliehude is thair that we suld hasarde substance, honouris, libertie, and lyfe for satisfactioun of the filthie pleasures of the flesche? Yf we wer gevin to that iniquitie, what suld constreane us to commit the same in secreit? Is not the libertie to commit huirdome so great and manifest in France, that all estaittis commit the same without schame or punisment? Wha saw ever yit in the Court man or woman brunt for that cause? Whois gudis or substance have bene confiscat within Pareis, or ellis whair within this realme, for adulterie; yea, supposing it wer incest or worse? ane thing I wold demand, and do hartlie desyre reasonable men to considder the same. What spreit hath moveit this suddane hatred of that sin in the hartis of the pepill? and why allone ar we burdenit with theis vyces (whairof God knaweth us to be frie) and judgeit worthie of the death, and yit ar the same aproved and manifestlie sene in othiris without all punisment? The preistis huirdomes ar knawin, and of all men may be easelie sene. The streitis and houssis ar full of thair bastardis, and yit who heireth the peple cry out upon thame, as that thai do aganis us, by whome thai can not prufe any spot of sic infamie?

Heirof it is evident, I say, that the Spreit of God hath not kendillit this hatred of sin in the hartis of the rascall multitude; for the Spreit of God, in all men, hateth sin alyke, and doith na mair flatter nor foster it in ane sort than in ane other. But the cause of thair malice and furious rage

The cause why the fallsche multitude hait us.

aganis us is, that we can not rin with thame heidlingis to perditioun, following as brute beastis the sensuall apetitis of the flesche; and also, because that with thame we will not blaspheme the liveing God, in bowing befoir dum idollis and honouring theis goddis, "who hath neither maid the heavin nor the earth;" becaus that oure soverane Captane and onlie Saviour Chryst Jesus (of whois Spreit nor power thai have never taistit) hath chosin us frome the warld, and hath appoyntit us his soldiouris to fight aganis Sathan, and to rebuke and convick the warld of sin, as God be praisit we and oure Brethrene do, sum be thair pennis, sum be preaching, and sum be suffering of all tormentis and crueltie, whilk thai pacientlie sustene for rebuking and refusing manifest iniquitie. Theis be the caussis why men do rage aganis us, and not oure synnis, whilk thameselves commit, and be commoun in the warld. And thairfoir, I wische that the ignorant multitude suld ernistlie considder thia, changeing thair myndis (yf possibill be) frome condempning us whome lawfullie thai can not convict of ane horribill cryme, lest that in condempning us thai also condempn the estait of the auncient Kirk, declaring also thame selves to be enrageit by the Divill, and to follow the crueltie of the ignorant Gentillis and auld idolateris.

Jeremie 10.

John 17.

John 16.

Neutrallis.

As tuiching thois that bend thair browis, and do proudlie luke upon the matter for uthir menis pleasure, and do publische fals accusationis and sclanderis aganis us, althocht thair awn consciences, in so doing, do byte and rebuke thame, whether it be thois that have na uthir God than thair awn ambitioun and covetuousnes, or whether it be thai that wold purchas the Princes favour by scheding of oure blude: Be it knawin unto thame, that we compleane of thair crueltie and wrong judgement unto the Majestie of oure God, wha will not leif the dispysing of his Word and the spytfull and cruell intreatting of his awn children unpunissit. And lykwyse, yf the wyse of this warld mock oure doingis, and support thois that blame us, we send sic to the behaviour and maneris of the

Seikeris of promotion.

auncient Kirk; to the end, that the same may answer for us, the whilk behaviour, exampill, and maner of the Kirk, yf we mair regarde than we do thois oure enemyis, either yit the consallis of the warldlie-wyse anis; yea, yf we do better and mair neir follow the auncient Kirk then either of thame do, it will please thame, I hoip, to hald us excusit, seing that of rycht the commandementis of God, the autoritie of the Apostillis, and the exempill of the auncient Martyris, aucht muche rather to be followit and embraceit than the febilnes and undiscreit raschnes of oure reassone. We do not deny but warldlie-wyse men gave us theis advertismentis: "Youre assemblies can not lang be keipit secreit, neither yit can thai be discoverit without great danger of thois that salbe found in thame; and thairfore it is but fulische hardines in men so to hasarde thameselves." This was the consall whilk sic pepill gave, and theis wer the reasonis whilk thai adduceit, and yit adduce, to dispers and scatter the lambis assemblit to be fed in the greene and holsum pastouris under Chryst Jesus and the trew preacheris of his halie Word. But, O thow that be wyse in youre awn eyis, do ye think that we wer (or yit ar) so without understanding, that we haif not foirsene all theis thingis? We understude befoir, and presentlie do knaw, that we duell whair Sathan hath his seat and sinagoge, amangis the middis of thois that [hate] trew doctrine. We knaw thair ignorance, and nevir doutit of thair crueltie and malice; yea, we knaw farther, that God sealleth up his Gospell with persecutioun. We knaw that the Kirk of God hath alwayis bene beset with enemyis; but must or aught it thairfoir be separatit frome thois things, and left destitute of the same, that God hath ordanit necessarie for oure salvatioun? Or aught we not rather, seing we knaw this to be the generall estait of the Kirk, that the members must be conformabill to the Heid; and also, considdering that persecutionis for Chrystis sake be lang befoir hand appoyntit by his awn mouth to sic as will unfeanidlie profess him befoir this wickit generatioun; aught we not, I say, seing we knaw theis

Yf men confes thair be a God who hath spokin to man in his Word, this may be trew.

The art of Sathan.

Let reasone answer the questioun.

Mat. 10.

Joh. 16. thingis to be most certane, commit the haill cause of oure lyves in the handis of Him of whome we have ressavit thame, and sa prepair oureselves to walk in the way whairin he hath set us, that without faynting we determine to seik that bread of lyfe without whilk oure saullis can not live, and in so doing, to prepair oureselves to embrace that whilk God hath prepareit for us? It is trew that this is nor was not youre consall, but yit it is according to the will and pleasure of God, who wald not have his suldioris forsake to follow the standart when thai sie
Worldlie wisdom. the battell and approche to the same. Your great and maist strong reasone is, that we must go fordward by litill and litill, and not assembill togidder in so great companies by the [way]. We do but cast oureselves heidlingis into danger, and be that
Ma ar sic than men wald think. reassone ye do not onlie keip youreselves frome oure societie and assemblies, but also yow restraine and discorage uthiris.
Apo. 3. But have ye not red, that God will spew furth of his mouth thois that ar neither hoit nor cold; that God delyteth in sim-
Psal 63. plicitie; that he requireth a zeall to his glorie, and for the mantenance of his house, that suld eat up, burne, and consume the haill man? Do ye not farther considder, that na man salbe crounit except he fight manfullie; and that na man can run or go too fast in that way whilk God hath anis taucht him? Who was ever disalowit of God for too muche service (whilk
Mat. 16. warldlie wisdome call raschnes) in Godis cause? Peter was of Chryst callit Sathan, because he willit him to favour him self.
Mat. 5. But thois that for rychteousness suffer persecutioun ar pro-
Mat 10. nuncit blissit; yea, and sic as either for feir deny him, either yit in any case do eschame of Chryst Jesus befoir this sinfull generatioun, ar threatnit to be denyit of him befoir his Father
The threatnyngis of God not vane. and his angellis. Yf thai suld considder that Chrystis threatnyngis is not vane, and that oure assembleis ar to confess Chryst, althocht it be with danger; yf farther thai suld understand, that on this maner walkit a great number of maist excellent personis in the primative Kirk, joynit also with a great number of Martyris, who in sic fervencie did end thair courssis, and so

wer blissit of God and crounit for thair labour: yf men, I say, do prais the zeall and constancie of the former sufferreris, and ernestlie wey and considder the necessitie of oure cause, thai suld not burdene us with fulische raschenes.

Men prais au ritie, but yet dampn the ly vertuis prese

But now omitting thois to whome the smell of the Egiptian pottis is mair delectabill then the heavinlie manna, and in whome carnall reasone choketh and oppresseth the wisdome whilk God aproveth, we turne to oure Brethren and Sisteris, whome we knaw with us to travaill in dolour; and to suche we say, that seing we ar assureit that oure Lord Jesus Chryst doith not present himself without his crosse, his thornis, his sclanderis, and rebukis, and understanding that in following him we salbe haittit of the warld, we may (nor will) not be abaschit for thois thingis that this day ar done unto us; neither will we forsaik to serve oure God becaus the ignorant blame us, the hard-hartit persecut us, and the carnell wyse men do mock us; yea, rather all theis ar (and by Godis grace salbe) a spur to quicken oure dulnes, that we may the better knaw the great mercie of oure God whilk so schyneth upon us, that in the middis of a blind and ignorant multitude he hath chosin us out, and maid us to knaw his halie will: And whair his Majestie hath left uthiris in induratioun and hardnes of hart, he hath in his infinit mercie turnit us to do him service when uthiris do follow thair awn wayis and consallis. He hath maid us in sum part obedient to his holie commandementis, whilk prerogative we haif not of nature mair nor the maist ignorant, neither of any worthines proceiding frome us, but by grace onlie, by whilk we ar maid abill to run and follow the steppis of sa many faithfull and excellent Martyris, hoping also be the sam to haif the power ministred to overcum all crueltie by oure pacience. And thairfoir we do protest and witnes befoir men, that we mair lament the blindnes of thois that persecut us, especiallie oure King and his Princes (wha be Chrystis enemyis ar abusit), than we do the tormentis or trubillis whilk we sall indure, and ar prepareit for us. For Him whome we serve we do prefer befoir

Chryst and hi rock are joyni so that witho the one . . .

Mat. 16.

(Note) Lord b mercifull to u

oure pleasuris, honoris, yea, evin befoir oure awn lyveis; for althocht his habitatioun be in the heavin, yit sieth He weill yneugh the cruell injureis that we indure, and ar prepareit for us, and sall not faill to revenge thame when the persecutouris be in greattest securitie. And thairfoir, deir Brethrene and Sisteris, let us with ane voce and mynd call to God, that of his great mercie it will please him to grant us his grace, stedfastlie to continew unto the end, dispyssing, with the holie Martyris that haif passit befoir us, the thingis temporall. That lyke as thai and we haif one Captane, do manteane ane self-same quarrell, and indure the lyke assaltis, evin so we may be armit with the same constancie, and so enjoy with thame the lyke victorie by Jesus Chryst,[1] whois halie and omnipotent Spreit comfort and assist us, and all thois that travale in the quarrell of the treuth, to the end. Amen.

The Communioun of Sanctis.

ACTIS THE 20.

Upon a Saboth-day, the Discipiles being assemblit to break the bread, Paule, becaus he was to depart upon the morrow, held purpois with thame, and continewit in his exhortatioun till midnycht; and in the chamer whair we wer assemblit thair wer many lampis.

ADDITIOUN [BY KNOX.]

THIS sentence of Scripture oure Brethrene addit to thair Apologie, to lat men understand, that to convene and assembill upon the nycht, to heir the preaching of the Gospell and to breaking of the misticall bread, was usit in the dayis of the Apostillis, when that the professouris of Chryst Jesus was not so cruellie persecutit as thai be this day; and thairfoir aught no man to wonder althocht the faithfull, in the placis whair Sathan beireth regement, do follow the exempill of thois whome

[1] The following words, and also the passage quoted from the Acts of the Apostles, are not inserted in the "Apologie," as republished in the "Histoire des Martyrs," 1619.

no man can deny to have bene gydit, taught, and inspyrit by the Halie Gaist; but heirof befoir is sufficientlie spokin. In the end of this Apologie, I haif usit a greatter libertie than sum men will approve in a translatour or interpretour; for omitting as littill as I culd (keiping the proprietie of the tounge in whilk I wryt), I have addit many thingis, asweill wordis as dyvers sentences. And efter this, as God sall grant me opportunitie, I purpois to add mair, partlie becaus oure Brethrene in prisone did upon schort advysment set furth sumwhat (and I grant sufficient) to stop the blasphemous mouthis of thair persecutouris, and thairfoir wer compellit to use great brevitie; and partlie becaus sic as studie and think to serve baith God and Mammoun can not yit be convictit that thai haif offendit aganis oure Brethrene in that, that thai accuse thame of undiscreit raschnes; but still thai bark, that be fulische and young consall we mar all: becaus that the servandis of God will not postponde nor delay to glorifie his halie name, in giving obedience till his commandentis till worldlie wyse men think tyme to speik the treuth, till the Divill command. And becaus amangis yow, asweill as heir with us, thair may be sum suche, I have addit sum reassonis and sentences, to the end that in the glass (yf thai be not altogether blind) thai may considder thair awne faces spottit befoir God with carnall wisdome, auld enemye to his blissit Majestie. Rest in Chryst, and call ernistlie for me in youre prayeris. The grace of oure Lord Jesus abyde with yow. Amen.

Lord, luk on us in this miserable land!

Reid with judgement, and let cheritie judge. In haist, from Deip, the 7th of December 1557.

Your Brother trubillit,

JOHNE KNOX.

THE FIRST BLAST

OF THE TRUMPET AGAINST THE MONSTROUS REGIMENT OF WOMEN.

M.D.LVIII.

Of the various writings of the Reformer, no one was the occasion of exciting greater odium than his First Blast against the monstrous Regiment or Government of Women. Unlike all his other publications, it appeared anonymously, although he had no intention of ultimately concealing his name. His purpose was, he tells us, "Thrice to Blow the Trumpet in the same matter, if God so permit;" and, on the last occasion, to announce himself as the writer, to prevent any blame being imputed to others. This intention, it is well known, was never carried into effect. That Knox's views were in harmony with those of his colleagues, Goodman, Whittingham, and Gilby, need hardly be stated; but the reception of the little work fully confirmed the Author's opinion, that it would not escape "the reprehension of many." This may in a great measure be attributed to the course of public events within a few months of its publication.

The subject of Female Government had engaged his attention at an earlier period. One of his Questions submitted to Bullinger in 1554 was, "Whether a Female can preside over, and rule a kingdom by divine right?"[1] And in answer to some doubts regarding the Apparel of Women, he himself says, that "if women take upon them the office which God hath assigned to men, they shall not escape the Divine malediction."[2] In his Additions to the foregoing Apology for the Protestants at Paris, he expresses his conviction that the government of Princes had come to that state of iniquity, that "no godly person can enjoy office or authority under them."[3] This assertion indeed was not specially applicable to Female government; but his feelings in

[1] Vol. iii. p. 222.
[2] *Supra*, p. 228.
[3] *Supra*, p. 327.

reference to the persecutions in England under Mary, and in Scotland under the Queen Regent, impelled him to treat of a subject which all others at the time seemed most sedulously to avoid. His First Blast was probably written at Dieppe towards the end of 1557; and it was printed early in the following year at Geneva, as is apparent upon comparison with other books from the press of John Crespin in that city.

A copy of the work having been sent to John Foxe, then residing at Basel, he wrote "a loving and friendly letter" to the author, in which he expostulates with him on the impropriety of the publication. In Knox's reply, dated the 18th of May 1558, he says, he will not excuse "his rude vehemencie and inconsidered affirmations, which may appear rather to proceed from choler than of zeal and reason:" "To me," he adds, "it is enough to say, that black is not white, and man's tyranny and foolishness is not God's perfect ordinance."[1]

The similar work of Goodman on "Obedience to Superior Powers," which appeared at Geneva about the same time, was also suggested by the persecuting spirit which then prevailed. But both works were published somewhat unseasonably, as such questions on Government and Obedience, it is justly observed, might have been more fitly argued when a King happened to fill the throne. The terms used by Goodman in reference to Mary, Queen of England, are not less violent than unseemly. She died on the 17th of November 1558, and her successor regarded the authors of these works with the utmost dislike, although neither of them, in their writings, had any special reference, or the least intention of giving offence, to Queen Elizabeth.

In the month of January 1559, when Knox took his final leave of Geneva, and proceeded to Dieppe, he applied to the English Government for permission to pass through their dominions, with the intention of visiting his friends at Newcastle and Berwick, on his way to Scotland. This request was peremp-

[1] This letter will appear in the next volume of his Works.

torily refused; and on the 6th of April, he says, in a letter written from Dieppe, "My First Blast hath blown from me all my friends in England." His letters at this time addressed to Sir William Cecil, from Dieppe and Edinburgh, enclosing one to Queen Elizabeth, are inserted in his History.[1] From the originals, which are still preserved, they will also be given in the next volume of his Works. To Cecil he says, "It is bruited, that my book is or shalbe written against. If so be, Sir, I greatlie feare that flatterers shall rather hurt nor mend the matter, which they would seem to maintain." Again, "I hear that there is a Confutation set forth in print against The First Blast. God grant that the writter have no more sought the favour of this present estate, no less the glory of God, and the stable commoditie of his contry, than did he who enterprized in that Blast to utter his conscience. When I shall have tyme (which now is somewhat precious unto me) to peruse that work, I will communicate my judgment with you." To the Queen, while he disclaims his ever having maliciously or on purpose offended her Grace, he adds: "I can not deny the writting of a book against the usurped Authority and unjust Regiment of Women; neither yet am I minded to retract or call back any principall point or proposition of the same, till truth and verity do further appeir."[2] Such expressions were not calculated to obtain a favourable reception; but his desire to avoid giving further offence to the Queen's established authority caused him to abstain from reading the Answer referred to, as he might have been induced in still stronger terms to justify his sentiments on this subject.

Soon after Queen Mary's arrival in Scotland, Knox has detailed the substance of his first conference with her, in which she also complained of his having written a book against her just authority, which she said she had caused, or would cause the most learned in Europe to answer. In reply, he expressed his contentment that all learned men should judge of it. "I

[1] Vol. ii. pp. 16, 26.

[2] Ib. p. 28.

hear that an Englishman hath written against it, *but I have not read him.* But to this hour I have thought, and yet think myself alone to be more able to sustain the things affirmed in that my work, then any ten in Europe shall be able to confute it."[1]

The work thus referred to appeared anonymously, but the author was John Aylmer, one of the English exiles, who became Bishop of London.[2] He says, "I wished that some notable learned man would have answered it;" and "for as much as I hoped of this at some men's hands, and heard of one, which is now gone to God, that he had taken it upon him, I ment not my self for a time to medle with it, least that a good cause, by il handling, should in the judgment of some seme the worse." His wish in doing so was "to let the world understand that this infection is not blown in by the Blast to al men's breasts." His object is thus stated by Strype: "He wrote upon a consultation, as it seems, holden among the exiles, the better to obtain the favour of the new Queen, and to take off any jealousie she might conceive of them and the religion they professed, by reason of an ill book a little before set furth by Knox, a Scotchman and fellow-exile, who had asserted therein, that it was unlawful for Women to reign, and forbid by God in his Word."[3] The two works were written and published under very different circumstances; and Aylmer states, that his purpose was "to defend the cause, *and not to deface the man*, seeing this errour rose not of malice but of zele, and by looking more to the present crueltie that then was used, than to

[1] Vol. ii. p. 278.

[2] Bishop Aylmer, or Ælmer, was born in 1521, educated at Cambridge, and became tutor in the family of the Marquess of Dorset, afterwards Duke of Suffolk. One of his pupils was the Lady Jane Grey. He was preferred to the Archdeaconry of Stowe, in the diocese of Lincoln. After Queen Mary's accession, he withdrew to the Continent. The freedom of some of his remarks on the female sex seems to have retarded his own promotion; but in 1562 he obtained the Archdeaconry of Lincoln; and in 1576 was promoted to the See of London. He died in 1596. See his Life, by Strype, London, 1701, 8vo; and the article "Aylmer" in the Biographia Britannica.

[3] Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 16. Lond. 1701, 8vo.

the inconvenience that after might follow; wherein surely his doyng is somewhat to be pardoned, consideryng the grief that, like a good member of that bodie which then suffered, he felte to his great sorrow and trouble."[1]

The work of Aylmer appeared under the following title:

"AN HARBOROVVE FOR FAITHFVLL AND TREVVE SVBIECTES, agaynst the late blowne Blaste, concerninge the Gouernment of VVemen: wherin be confuted all such reasons as a straunger of late made in that behalfe, with a breife exhortation to OBEDIENCE. Anno. M.D.lix. (Proverbes. 32. *Many daughters*, &c.) ¶ At Strasborowe the 26. of Aprill." Small 4to, sign. A to R 3, in fours.

In this Reply to the First Blast, Knox's name is not mentioned, but Aylmer introduces some allusions to him, in no unfriendly spirit. "*For I have that opinion of the man's honestie and godlynes*, that he will not disdayne to heare better reasons, nor be loth to be taught in any thing he misseth."[2]—"So this Authour, seyng the tormentes of martyres, the murdryng of goodmen, th'imprissonment of innocentes, the racking of the gyltles, the banishyng of Christ, the receivyng of Antechriste, the spoyling of subjects, the mayntenance of straungers, the moving of warres, the losse of Englandes honour, the purchasing of hatred where we had love, the procuring of trouble where we had peax, the spending of treasure where it was nedeles, and, to be short, all out of joynt: *He could not but mislike that Regiment from whence such frutes did spring.*" Only, he adds, he was not to be excused in swerving from the particular question to the general, as though all Female Government were contrary to "Nature, Reason, Right, and Lawe; because that the present state then, through the faulte of the persone, and not of the Sexe, was unnaturall, unreasonable, unjust, and unlawful. *If he had kept him in that particular persone* (Mary of England), *he could have said nothing too muche*, nor in such wyse, as could have offended any indifferent man. And this

[1] An Harborowe, &c., sign. B 1. [2] Ib. sign. C 1.

againe would [should] have been considered, That if the question were to be handled, yet was it not mete to bring it into doubt at that time, when it could not, nor yet can, be redressed (were it never so evill) without manifest and violent wrong of them that be in place. For if it were unlawful (as he will have it) that that Sexe should governe, yet is it not unlawfull that they should enherit; and in this point their enheritaunce is so lynked with the empyre, that you can not pluck from them th'one without robbing them of th'other. This doubt might better have been moved when the Sceptre was or shalbe in the hand of the male,"[1] &c. To the same purpose he elsewhere says, "*The Blast was blowen out of season.*"[2]

The other work, already mentioned, by Knox's colleague, Christopher Goodman, appeared about the same time, and met with a reception not less ungracious, and subsequently involved the author in much trouble. It is entitled, "How Svperior Powers ovght to be obeyd of their subjects: and wherin they may lawfully, by God's Worde, be disobeyed and resisted. Wherin also is declared the cause of all this present miserie in England, and the onely way to remedy the same. By Christopher Goodman. Printed at Geneva by Iohn Crispin. M.D.LVIII." 12mo. pp. 238. It is introduced with a Preface by W. Whittingham; and at the close are some verses by William Kethe. The same date, "Geneva, this first of Januarie, M.D.LVIII,"[3] occurs in Whittingham's addition, at the end of the book itself, and in the colophon.

That these works, and every person supposed to entertain similar sentiments, should be regarded with marked aversion by Queen Elizabeth, need excite no surprise. In the beginning of the year 1559, Calvin having revised and republished his Commentaries on Isaiah, originally dedicated to Edward VI., in 1551, he addressed the work in a printed Epistle to her Majesty; but his messenger brought him back word that his

[1] Sign. B 2.
[2] Marg. note, sign. C ij.
[3] This date is obviously according to our present mode of reckoning, as copies of the work had reached England during the life of Mary.

homage was not kindly received by her Majesty, because she had been offended with him by reason of some writings published with his approbation at Geneva. Calvin felt so greatly annoyed at this imputation, that he addressed a letter to Sir William Cecil,[1] in which he expresses himself with no small degree of asperity on the subject of Knox's First Blast. He says, "Two years ago John Knox asked of me, in a private conversation, what I thought about the Government of Women. I candidly replied, that as it was a deviation from the original and proper order of nature, it was to be ranked, no less than slavery, among the punishments consequent upon the fall of man; but that there were occasionally women so endowed, that the singular good qualities which shone forth in them made it evident that they were raised up by Divine authority; either that God designed by such examples to condemn the inactivity of men, or for the better setting forth his own glory. I brought forward Huldah and Deborah; and added, that God did not vainly promise by the mouth of Isaiah, that Queens should be the nursing mothers of the Church; by which prerogative it is very evident that they are distinguished from females in private life. I came at length to this conclusion, that since, both by custom, and public consent, and long practice, it has been established, that realms and principalities may descend to females by hereditary right, it did not appear to me necessary to move the question, not only because the thing would be invidious, but because in my opinion it would not be lawful to unsettle governments which are ordained by the peculiar providence of God. *I had no suspicion of the book, and for a whole year was ignorant of its publication.* When I was informed of it by certain parties, I sufficiently shewed my displeasure that such paradoxes should be published; but as the remedy was too late, I thought that the evil which could not now be corrected, should rather be buried in oblivion than made a matter of agi-

[1] The letter is not dated, but it was subsequent to one written on the 29th of January 1559. Zürich Letters, Second Series, p. 35.

tation. Inquire also at your father-in-law [Sir Anthony Cooke], what my reply was when he informed me of the circumstance through Beza. And Mary was still living, so that I could not be suspected of flattery. *What the books contain, I cannot tell; but Knox himself will allow that my conversation with him was no other then what I have now stated.*" Calvin then proceeds to say, that great confusion might have arisen by any decided opposition, and there would have been cause to fear, that in such a case, "by reason of the thoughtless arrogance of one individual,[1] the wretched crowd of exiles would have been driven away, not only from this city (of Geneva), but even from almost the whole world."[2]

Some years later, and subsequent to Calvin's death, Beza, in a letter to Bullinger, adverts to Queen Elizabeth's continued dislike to the Church of Geneva. In this letter, dated the 3d of September 1566, he says, "For as to our Church, I would have you know that it is so hateful to the Queen [of England], that on this account she has never said a single word in acknowledgement of the gift of my Annotations [on the New Testament]. The reason of her dislike is twofold; one, because we are accounted too severe and precise, which is very displeasing to those who fear reproof; the other is, because formerly, though without our knowledge, during the lifetime of Queen Mary, two books were published here in the English language, one by Master Knox against the Government of Women, the other by Master Goodman on the Rights of the Magistrate. *As soon as we learned the contents of each, we were much displeased, and their sale was forbidden in consequence;* but she, notwithstanding, cherishes the opinion she has taken into her head."[3]

Copies of both works had been privately sent to England, during Queen Mary's reign, but were rigorously prohibited. Strype notices the case of one Linthall of Southwark, who, in

[1] The original words are, "ob inconsideratum unius hominis fastum."

[2] Zürich Letters, Second Series, p. 34.

[3] Ib. p. 131.

1558, was taken into custody on account of his religion, and brought before Bishop Bonner's Chancellor. Among the books in his possession which were seized, was a copy of "The First Blast;" and it was told to Linthall's friends, "that he had in his keeping a book by which he could make him guilty of treason, and have him hanged, drawn, and quartered. But the Queen's sickness at that time saved him, and the Chancellor took bonds for his appearance, and so dismissed him."[1]

In reference to Goodman's work, it may be mentioned that he addressed a letter to Peter Martyr, on the 20th of August 1558,[2] in which he says, "I requested the judgment of Master Calvin, to which you very properly attach much weight, before the book was published, and I shewed him the same propositions which I sent to you. And though he deemed them somewhat harsh, especially to those who are in the place of power, and that for this reason they should be handled with caution, yet he nevertheless admitted them to be true." Bishop Jewel, in a letter also addressed to Peter Martyr, from London, on the 28th of April 1559, says, "I hear that Goodman is in this country; but so that he dare not show his face, and appear in public. How much better would it have been to have been wise in time! If he will but acknowledge his error, there will be no danger. But as he is a man of irritable temper, and too pertinacious in any thing that he has once undertaken, I am rather afraid that he will not yield."[3] Milton, in quoting the works of Goodman and others, eloquently says, "These were the pastors of those saints and confessors, who, flying from the bloody persecution of Queen Mary, gathered up at length their scattered members into many congregations. . . . *These were the true Protestant Divines of England*, our Fathers in the faith we hold."[4] Goodman finding himself so circumstanced, and coming to Scotland in September 1559, he became minister at

[1] Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 129.

[2] Original Letters, 1537–1558, English Reformation, *Parker Society*, p. 771.

[3] Zürich Letters, by the *Parker Society*, p. 21.

[4] The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates.

Ayr, and afterwards at St Andrews. He returned to England in the year 1565, and having made a protestation of obedience, and afterwards a special retractation of the doctrines which had proved so offensive to Queen Elizabeth, he obtained some preferment, having been collated to the Archdeaconry of Richmond, in Yorkshire. He was also Rector of Alford, but was deprived of his living for nonconformity, by Vaughan, Bishop of Chester. He died on the 4th of June 1603, and was buried in St Werburgh's or St Bride's Church, in his native city of Chester, at the advanced age of eighty-five.[1]

Other parties who were exasperated by the "First Blast" were the Roman Catholics, and the adherents of Mary Queen of Scots. The Queen herself, as we have seen, in her first conference with the Reformer, charged him with maintaining such opinions; and two works, of a later date, which were written by John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, and David Chalmers of Ormond, were no doubt considered as refutations of Knox's sentiments on Female Government.

Another Popish writer who alludes to the sentiments of Knox and Goodman may be more particularly noticed. The work is entitled, "An Oration against the Vnlawfull Insurrections of the Protestantes of our time, vnder pretence to Refourme Religion. Made and pronounced in Latin, in the Schole of Artes at Lovaine, the xiiij. of December, Anno 1565. By Peter Frarin of Antwerp, M. of Artes, and Batchelor of both Lawes. And now translated into Englishe with the aduise of the Author. Antverpiæ, ex officina Ioannis Fouleri. M.D.LXVI." Small 8vo. John Fouler, the publisher, who was also the translator, dates it from Andwerp, the 9th of May 1566. His additions have imparted to it the character of a new work. In the following passages, it will be observed that his reference to Knox's book is to the "Faithful Admonition" in 1554,[2] while he has by mistake attributed the "First Blast" to Goodman:

[1] See Strype's Annals, vol. i. pp. 126, 184; Willis's Cathedrals, Chester, p. 344; and Wood's Athenæ Oxon., Bliss's edit., vol. i. p. 723.

[2] See vol. iii. pp. 294, 295.

"I culd declare unto you, how the traiterouse Gospellers of England gathered a maine hoste againste their moste vertuouse ladie Quene Marie, the rare treasure, peerlesse jewell, that moste perfect paterne & example of our daies. How they shotte arrowes and dartes againste her courte gates, conspired her death, deuised to poison her, to kil her with a dagge at one time, with a privie dagger at an other time, reuiled her, called her bastard, boutcher, printed seditiouse bokes againste her, wherein they railed at her like Hell-houndes, and named her traiterouse Marie, mischeuouse Marie."—(Sign. E. v.ᵇ) Wiates' Rebellion. KNOKES BOKE.

"It were too long to rehearse, how the noble Queene of Scotland, that now raigneth, was driuen a great while to liue like a poore priuat woman in her own Realme, to obey her own subiectes, and to doe no more then they gave her leaue: yea, and in the meane tyme, was euerie daye and euery houre in greate perill & danger of her life among them."—(Sign. E. vj.)

"With the lyke sprite, one Goodman, an Englisshe man, an carneste and hotte preacher of this Gospell, for a grudge and malice he bore againste his Soueraigne Ladie and Mystresse Marye, the moste hyghe and Honorable Quene of Englande, dydde sette out a monstruous Booke in deede a fewe yeares agoe againste the monstruouse Raygne of Women, as he sayed: yea, the impudente, vile, and shameless villaine Traitor called that moste noble and vertuouse woman Proserpine (whome the Poetes faine to be Quene of Hel); and for her sake gathering choler and stomake against all women, he railed at them all, and reuiled them, & like a common scolde would by his wil set on a cookinge stole all the whole flocke and generation of woman kinde. GOODMAN'S BOKE AGAINSTE THE MONSTRUOUS RAIGNE OF WOMEN.

"He saied, it was neither law, nor right, nor reason, that any woman should be a Ruler and syt in the Princelie Seate of any Common weale: that it might well seeme a monstruouse rule, and contrarye to nature, if men were compelled to obey a Woman: if women were suffred to beare the sway and gouerne the publike estate of any kingdome."—(Sign. F. ij.)

But the most curious part of the volume is the series of thirty-six small wood-cuts,[1] with verses underneath, as illustrative of the Oration, with this title: "The Table of this Booke, set out not by order of Alphabete or numbre, but by expresse figure, to the eyesight of the Christian Reader, and of him also that cannot reade." The following is an accurate facsimile of one representing Goodman and Knox sounding their trumpets in the ears of the Queens of England and Scotland.

No Queene in her kingdome can or ought to syt fast,
If Knokes or Goodmans bookes blowe any true blast.

On the opposite page is an exact facsimile of the original title of the "First Blast." The volume, as might be anticipated, is of considerable rarity, and it is now reprinted in a complete and accurate manner. When, in the course of the same year, 1558, Knox published his Appellation (see *infra*), he annexed the heads of what he purposed to enforce in the "Second Blast;" but this intention he left unfulfilled.

[1] Frarin's Oration was printed at Louvain, 1566, 12mo. The translation of Frarin's Oration was reprinted "with Licence," but without date or place of printing. It was evidently printed abroad, about the year 1600. In this republication, the wood-cut illustrations and the English verses are wholly omitted.

THE FIRST BLAST OF THE TRUMPET AGAINST THE MONSTRVOVS regiment of women.

Veritas temporis filia.

M· D· LVIII·

In 12mo, printed in Roman Letter,
Sign. A to G, in eights, or 56 leaves, numbered.

In the edition of Knox's History of the Reformation, Edinburgh, 1732, folio, there were added, "several curious pieces wrote by him; particularly that most rare and scarce one, entitled, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women.*" But this tract is very unfaithfully reprinted, as numerous passages are omitted or abridged.

A still more faithless edition, "Edinburgh, printed by Thomas Lumisden and John Robertson, M.DCC.XXXIII.," 4to, pp. 30, was annexed to the republication of David Buchanan's edition of the History and Treatises, "Edinburgh, re-printed by Thomas Lumisden and John Robertson, and sold at their Printing-house in the Fish-market, 1731," 4to. See vol. ii. p. 465.

In M'Gavin's editions of the History of the Reformation, Glasgow, 1831 and 1832, 8vo, the "First Blast" is reprinted with apparent accuracy, by correcting "a vast number of errors, and some considerable omissions" in the former editions, by the aid of a collated copy, furnished by the late Dr M'Crie. "This (he adds) has enabled me to give this, the most celebrated of Knox's productions, perhaps verbatim as it was published by himself." The collations referred to by Mr M'Gavin cannot have been completed, as, in the latter portion in particular, there are many passages either abridged or omitted. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the present text is a faithful republication of the original work.

THE PREFACE.

The Kingdome apperteineth to our God.

WONDER it is, that amongest so many pregnant wittes as the Ile of Greate Britany hath produced, so many godlie and zealous preachers as England did sometime norishe, and amongest so many learned, and men of grave judgement, as this day by Jesabel are exiled, none is found so stowte of courage, so faithfull to God, nor loving to thair native countrie, that they dare admonishe the inhabitantes of that Ile, how abominable before God is the Empire or Rule of a wicked woman, yea, of a traiteiresse and bastard; and what may a people or nation, left destitute of a lawfull head, do by the authoritie of Goddes Worde in electing and apponting common rulers and magistrates. That Ile (alas) for the contempt and horrible abuse of Goddes mercies offred, and for the shamefull revolting to Satan frome Christ Jesus, and frome his Gospell ones professed, doth justlie merite to be left in the handes of their own counsel, and so to come to confusion and bondage of strangiers. But yet I feare that this universall negligence of such as somtimes were estemed watchemen shall rather aggravate our former ingratitude, then excuse this our universall and ungodlie silence in so weightie a matter. We se our countrie set furthe for a pray to foreine nations, we heare the blood of our brethren, the membres of Christ Jesus, most cruellie to be shed, and the monstruous empire of a cruell woman (the secrete counsel of God excepted) we know to be the onlie occasion of all those miseries: and yet with silence we passe the time, as though the matter did nothinge appertein to us. But the contrarie examples of the auncient Prophetes move me to doubte

Negligen Watchen

The dilig the olde phetes o

of this our fact. For Israel did universalie decline from God
1 Reg. 12. by embracing idolatrie under Jeroboam. In which they did continue even unto the destruction of their common-welthe.
Ezech. 16. And Juda withe Jerusalem did followe the vile superstition and open iniquitie of Samaria. But yet ceased not the Prophetes of God to admonishe the one and the other: Yea, even after that God had poured furthe his plagues upon them. For
Jerem. 29. Jeremie did write to the captives in Babylon, and did correct their errors, plainlie instructing them who did remaine in the
Ezech. 7, 8, 9. middest of that idolatrouse nation. Ezechiel, frome the middest of his brethren prisoners in Chaldea, did write his vision to those that were in Jerusalem; and, sharplie rebukinge their vices, assured them that they should not escape the vengeance of God, by reason of their abominations committed.

God alway had his people amongest the wicked, who never lacked their Prophetes and Teachers. Isaie 13. Jerem. 46. Ezech. 36. The same Prophetes, for comfort of the afflicted and chosen saintes of God, who did lie hyd amongest the reprobate of that age (as commonlie doth the corne amongest the chaffe), did prophecie and before speake the changes of kingdomes, the punishmentes of tyrannes, and the vengeance which God wold execute upon the oppressors of his people. The same did Daniel, and the rest of the Prophets, everie one in their season.

Examples what Teachers ought to do in this time. Ezech. 2. By whose examples, and by the plaine precept which is geven to Ezechiel, commanding him that he shall say to the wicked, "Thou shalt die the death," we in this our miserable age are bounde to admonishe the world, and the tyrannes therof, of their sodeine destruction, to assure them, and to crie unto
Apoca. 6. them, whether they list to heare or not, "That the blood of the Saintes, which by them is shed, continuallie crieth and craveth vengeance in the presence of the Lorde of Hostes." And further, it is our dutie to open the truth reveled unto us, unto the ignorant and blind world; unlest[1] that to our owne condemnation, we list to wrap up and hyde the talent committed to our charge. I am assured, that God hath reveled to some in this our age, that it is more then a monstre in nature

[1] That is, "unless."

that a Woman shall reigne and have empire above Man. And yet with us all there is suche silence, as if God therewith were nothing offended. The naturall man, ennemy to God, shall fynd, I knowe, many causes why no suche doctrine oght to be published in those our dangerous dayes. First, for that it may seme to tend to sedition. Secondarilie, it shall be dangerous, not onlie to the writer or publisher, but also to all such as shall reade the writinges, or favor this truth spoken: And last, It shall not amend the chief offenders, partlie because it shall never come to their eares, and partlie because they will not be admonished in such cases. I answer, Yf any of these be a sufficient reason, that a truth knowen shall be conceled, then were the auncient Prophetes of God very fooles, who did not better provide for their owne quietnes, then to hasard their lives for rebuking of vices, and for the opening of such crimes as were not knowen to the world. And Christ Jesus did injurie to his Apostles, commanding them to preache repentance and remission of synnes in his name to everie realme and nation. And Paule did not understand his oune libertie, when he cried, "Wo be to me, if I preache not the Evangile!" Yf feare, I say, of persecution, of sclander, or of any inconvenience before named, might have excused and discharged the servantes of God from plainlie rebuking the sinnes of the world, juste cause had everie one of them to have ceased frome their office. For sodeinlie their doctrine was accused by termes of sedition, of newe learning, and of treason. Persecution and vehement trouble did shortlie come upon the professors with the preachers: Kinges, Princes, and worldlie Rulers did conspire against God, and against his anoynted Christ Jesus. But what? Did any of these move the Prophetes and Apostles to faynt in their vocation? No. But by the resistance which the Devill made to them by his suppostes were they the more inflamed to publishe the truthe reveled unto them; and to witnesse with their blood, that grevous condemnation and Goddes hevie vengeance shuld folowe the proude contempt of graces offred. The

Three chief reasons that do stay Man from speaking the Truthe.

1 Cor. 9.

Mat. 28. Act. 18, 21.

Psalm 2. Act. 4.

fidelitie, bold courage, and constancie of those that are passed before us, ought to provoke us to folowe their footsteppes, onles we loke for another kingdome than Christ hath promised to such as persevere in profession of his name to the end. Yf any think that the empire of Women is not of such importance, that for the suppressing of the same any man is bounde to hasarde his life; I answer, that to supresse it is in the hand of God alone. But to utter the impietie and abomination of the same, I say, it is the dutie of everie true messager[1] of God to whome the truth is reveled in that behalfe. For the especial dutie of Goddes messagers is to preache repentance, to admonishe the offenders of their offenses, and to say to the wicked, "Thou shalt die the death, except thou repent." This I trust will no man denie to be the propre office of all Goddes messagers, to preache (as I have said) repentance and remission of synnes. But neither of both can be done, except the conscience of the offenders be accused and convicted of transgression. But howe shall any man repent, not knowing wherin he hath offended? And where no repentance is founde, there can be no entrie to grace. And therfore I say, that of necessitie it is that this monstriferouse empire of Women (which amongest all enormities that this day do abound upon the face of the whole earth, is most detestable and damnable) be openlie reveled and plainlie declared to the world, to the end that some may repent and be saved. And thus farre to the first sort.

It is necessarie for everie man to open the Impietie whiche he knoweth to hurt his Common-welth.

No man can repent except he knowe his synne.

To suche as thinke that it will be long before such doctrine come to the eares of the chief offenders, I answer, that the veritie of God is of that nature, that at one time or at other it will pourchace to it selfe audience. It is an odour and smell, that can not be suppressed; yea, it is a trumpet that will sound in despite of the adversarie. It will compell the verie enemies, to their own confusion, to testifie and beare witnesse of it. For I finde that the prophecie and preaching of Heliseus

The propertie of Goddes Truth.

[1] From the French *messager*, messenger.

was declared in the hall of the King of Syria, by the servauntes and flatterers of the same wicked King, making mention that Heliseus declared to the King of Israel whatsoever the said King of Syria spoke in his most secret chamber. And the wonderous workes of Jesus Christ were notified to Herode, not in any great praise or commendation of his doctrine, but rather to signifie, that Christ called that tyranne a fox, and that he did no more regarde his authoritie then did John the Baptist, whom Herode before had beheaded for the libertie of his tongue. But whether the bearers of the rumours and tidinges were favourers of Christ, or flatterers of the tyranne, certein it is that the fame, as well of Christes doctrine as of his workes, came to the eares of Herod: even so may the sounde of our weake trumpet, by the support of some wynd (blowe it from the south, or blowe it from the northe, it is of no mater), come to the eares of the chief offenders. But whether it do or not, yet dare we not cease to blowe as God will give strength. For we are debtors to mo than to Princes, to witte, to the multitude of our brethren, of whome, no doubte, a great nomber have heretofore offended by errour and ignorance, geving their suffragies, consent, and helpe to establishe Women in their kingdomes and empires,[1] not understanding howe abominable, odious, and detestable is all such usurped authoritie in the presence of God. And therfore must the truthe be plainlie spoken, that the simple and rude multitude may be admonished.

2 Reg. 6. Mat. 14. Rom. 1.

The ignorant multitude hath set up the Authority of Women, not knowinge the danger.

[1] Goodman, in his work on Obedience, as Strype has remarked, also bitterly inveighs against those Protestant clergy and counsellors that set up Queen Mary, whom he calls an idolatress, a wicked woman, and an incestuous bastard; quoting various passages "to show the man and his dangerous doctrines." He notices that Goodman's book was quoted by "N. D.," that is, Robert Parsons the Jesuit, for the purpose of charging the Protestants with rebellion to their Prince. Dr Sutcliffe, in his Answer to Parsons, says, "Goodman did not like rebellion, but misliked Women's government; and that this opinion he himself has since retracted." (Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 126.) Milton (*supra*, p. 359,) quotes Knox as well as Goodman, in his "Tenure of Kings and Magistrates," &c., edit. 1650.

And as concerning the danger which may hereof insue, I am not altogether so brutishe and insensible, but that I have laid mine accompt what the finishinge of the worke may coste me for my own parte. First, I am not ignorant how difficile and dangerous it is to speake against a common error, especiallie when that the ambitious mindes of men and women are called to the obedience of Goddes simple commandement. For to the most parte of men, lawfull and godlie appeareth whatsoever antiquitie hath received. And secondarelie, I looke to have more adversaries, not onlie of the ignorant multitude, but also of the wise, politike, and quiet spirites of this world, so that as well shall suche as oght to mainteine the truth and veritie of God, become enemies to me in this case, as shall the Princes and ambitious persons, who to mainteine their unjust tyrannie do alwayes studie to suppresse the same. And thus I am moste certeinlie persuaded, that my labour shall not escape reprehension of many. But because I remembre that accompte of the talentes received must be made to Him, who neither respecteth the multitude, nether yet approveth the wisdome, policie, peace, nor antiquitie, concluding or determining any thinge against his eternall will, reveled to us in his moste blessed Worde, I am compelled to cover myne eyes, and shut up myne eares, that I nether se the multitude that shall withstand me in this matter, nether that I shall heare the opprobries, nor consider the dangers which I may incurre for uttering the same. I shalbe called foolishe, curious, despitefull, and a sower of sedition: and one day parchance (althogh now be nameles) I may be attainted of treason. But seing that impossible it is, but that ether I shall offend God, dailie calling to my conscience that I oght to manifest the veritie knowen, or elles that I shall displease the worlde for doing the same; I have determined to obey God, notwithstanding that the world shall rage thereat. I knowe that the world offended (by Goddes permission) may kill the bodie; but Goddes Majestie offended hath power to punishe bodie and soule for ever. His Majestie is offended

A very dangerous thing to speake against olde errors.

Accomptes will be had of Goddes giftes.

The cause moving the Author to write.

when that his preceptes are contemned, and his threatninges estemed to be of none effect. And amongest his manifold preceptes geven to his Prophetes, and amongest his threatninges, none is more vehement than is that which is pronounced by Ezechiel, in these wordes: "Sonne of man, I have appointed thee[1] a watchman to the house of Israel, that thou shuldest heare from my mouthe the worde, and that thou maist admonishe them plainlie, when I shall say to the wicked man: O wicked, thou shalt assuredlie die. Then if thou shall not speak, that thou maist plainlie admonishe him that he may leave his wicked way, the wicked man shall die in his iniquitie, but his blood will I requier of thy hand. But and if thou shalt plainlie admonishe th'wicked man, and yet he shall not turne frome his way, such a one shall die in his iniquitie, but thou hast delivered thy soule." Ezech. 33.

This precept, I say, with the threatning annexed, togither with the rest that is spoken in the same chapter, not to Ezechiel onlie, but to everie one whom God placeth watchman over his people and flocke, (and watchmen are they, whose eyes he doth open, and whose conscience he pricketh to admonishe the ungodlie,) compelleth me to utter my conscience in this matter, notwithstanding that the whole worlde shuld be offended with me for so doing. Yf any wonder why I do concele my name, let him be assured, that the feare of corporall punishment is nether the onlie, nether the chief cause. My purpose is thrise to Blowe the Trumpet in the same mater, if God so permitte: twise I intend to do it without name; but at the Last Blast to take the blame upon myselfe, that all others may be purged. For the Author's Name.

[1] *Thee* in the original is uniformly printed *the*.

THE FIRST BLAST,

TO AWAKE WOMEN DEGENERATE.

To promote a Woman to beare rule, superioritie, dominion, or empire above any Realme, Nation, or Citie, is repugnant to Nature; contumelie to God, a thing most contrarious to his reveled will and approved ordinance; and finallie, it is the subversion of good Order, of all equitie and justice.

In the probation of this Proposition, I will not be so curious as to gather what soever may amplifie, set furth, or decore the same; but I am purposed, even as I have spoken my conscience in most plaine and few wordes, so to stand content with a simple proofe of everie membre, bringing in for my witnesse Goddes ordinance in Nature, his plaine will revelled in his Worde, and by the mindes of such as be moste auncient amongest godlie Writers.

And first, where that I affirme the empire of a Woman to be a thing repugnant to Nature, I meane not onlie that God, by the order of his creation, hath spoiled woman of authoritie and dominion, but also that man hath seen, proved, and pronounced just causes why that it shuld be. Man, I say, in many other cases blind, doth in this behalfe see verie clearlie. For the causes be so manifest, that they can not be hid. For who can denie but it is repugneth to nature, that the blind shall be appointed to leade and conduct such as do see? That the weake, the sicke, and impotent persons shall norishe and kepe the hole and strong? And finallie, that the foolishe, madde, and phrenetike shal governe the discrete, and give counsel to such as be sober of mind? And such be al women, compared unto

Causes why Women shuld not have pre-eminence over men.

man in bearing of authoritie. For their sight in civile regiment is but blindnes; their strength, weaknes; their counsel, foolishnes; and judgment, phrensie, if it be rightlie considered.

Private examples do not breake generall ordinance.

I except such as God, by singular priviledge, and for certain causes, known onlie to himselfe, hath exempted from the common ranke of women, and do speake of women as nature and experience do this day declare them. Nature, I say, doth paynt them furthe to be weake, fraile, impacient, feble, and foolishe; and experience hath declared them to be unconstant, variable, cruell, and lacking the spirit of counsel and regiment. And these notable faultes have men in all ages espied in that kinde, for the whiche not onlie they have removed women from rule and authoritie, but also some have thoght that men subject to the counsel or empire of their wyves were unworthie of all public office. For thus writeth Aristotle in the Seconde of his Politikes: What difference shal we put, saith he, whether that Women beare authoritie, or the husbandes that obey the empire of their wyves, be appointed to be Magistrates! For what insueth the one, must nedes folowe the other, to witte, injustice, confusion, and disorder. The same author further reasoneth, that the policie or regiment of the Lacedemonians (who other wayes amongest the Grecians were moste excellent) was not worthie to be reputed nor accompted amongest the nombre of common welthes that were well governed, because the Magistrates and Rulers of the same were too muche geven to please and obey their wyves. What wolde this writer (I pray you) have said to that realme or nation, where a woman sitteth crowned in Parliament amongest the middest of men! Oh fearefull and terrible are thy judgementes (O Lord) whiche thus hast abased man for his iniquitie! I am assuredlie persuaded that if any of those men, which, illuminated onlie by the light of nature, did see and pronounce causes sufficient why women oght not to beare rule nor authoritie, shuld this day live and see a woman sitting in judgement, or riding frome Parliament in the middest of men, having the royall crowne

2. Politicorum Aristotelis.

Reade Isaie the thirde chaptre.

upon her head, the sworde and sceptre borne before her, in signe that the administration of justice was in her power: I am assuredlie persuaded, I say, that suche a sight shulde so astonishe them, that they shulde judge the hole worlde to be transformed into Amazones, and that suche a metamorphosis and change was made of all the men of that countrie, as poetes do feyn was made of the companyons of Ulisses, or at least, that albeit the outwarde form of men remained, yet shuld they judge that their hartes were changed frome the wisdome, understanding, and courage of men, to the foolishe fondnes and cowardise of women. Yea, they further shuld pronounce, that where women reigne or be in authoritie, that there must nedes vanitie be preferred to vertue, ambition and pride to temperancie and modestie; and finallie, that avarice, the mother of all mischefe, must nedes devour equitie and justice. But lest that we shall seme to be of this opinion alone, let us heare what others have seen and decreed in this mater. In the Rules of the Lawe thus it is written: "Women are removed frome all civile and publike office, so that they nether may be Judges, nether may they occupie the place of the Magistrate; nether yet may they be speakers for others." The same is repeted in the Third and in the Sextenth Bookes of the Digestes, where certein persones are forbidden, *Ne pro aliis postulent*, that is, that they be no speakers nor advocates for others. And among the rest are women forbidden, and this cause is added, that they do not against shamefastnes intermedle them selves with the causes of others; nether yet that women presume to use the offices due to men. The Lawe in the same place doth further declare, that a naturall shamfastnes oght to be in womankind, whiche most certeinlie she loseth whensoever she taketh upon her the office and estate of man. As in Calphurnia was evidentlie declared, who having licence to speake before the Senate, at length became so impudent and importune, that by her babling she troubled the hole Assemblie; and so gave occasion that this lawe was established.

Amazones were monstruouse women, that coulde not abide the regiment of men, and therfore killed their husbandis. Reade Justine.

Arist. 2. Politic.

Lib. 50, de Regulis Juris. What women may not be.

3, 16, Lib. Digestorum.

Ad Senatusconsul. Vellelanum.

Lib. 3, De Postulatione, Tit. 1.

Calphurnia.

De Statu hominum, Titul 5.

In the First Boke of the Digestes, it is pronounced that the condition of the woman in many cases is worse then of the man. As in jurisdiction (saith the Lawe), in receiving of cure and tuition, in adoption, in publike accusation, in delation, in all popular action, and in motherlie power, which she hath not upon her owne sonnes. The Lawe further will not permit that the woman geve any thing to her husband, because it is against the nature of her kinde, being the inferiour membre, to presume to geve any thing to her head. The Lawe doth more over pronounce womankinde to be most avaricious; (which is a vice intolerable in those that shulde rule or minister justice). And Aristotle, as before is touched, doth plainly affirme, that whersoever women beare dominion, there must nedes the people be disordred, livinge and abounding in all intemperancie, geven to pride, excesse, and vanitie; and finallie in the end, that they must nedes come to confusion and ruine.

Frome Women power is taken away by the Civile lawe over their own children.

Dig. Lib. 24, de Donatione inter Virum et Feminam.

Women be covetous, therfore unmete governors. Lib. 1. Digest. de Legib. et Senatusco., Tit 3.

Politic. 2.

England and Scotland beware.

Great imperfections of women.

Wold to God the examples were not so manifest to the further declaration of the imperfections of women, of their naturall weaknes and inordinat appetites! I might adduce histories, proving some women to have died for sodein joy; some for unpacience to have murthered them selves, some to have burned with such inordinat lust, that for the quenching of the same, they have betrayed to strangiers their countrie and citie; and some to have bene so desirous of dominion, that for the obteining of the same, they have murthered the children of their owne sonnes, yea, and some have killed with crueltie their owne husbandes and children. But to me it is sufficient (because this parte of nature is not my moste sure foundation) to have proved, that men illuminated onlie by the light of nature, have seen and have determined, that it is a thing moste repugnant to nature, that women rule and governe over men. For those that will not permit a woman to have power over her owne sonnes, will not permit her (I am assured) to have rule over a realme; and those that will not suffer her to speake in

Romilda, the wife of Gisulphus, betrayed to Cacanus the dukedome of Friaul in Italie.

Jane, Quene of Naples, hanged her husband.

Athalia, 4 Reg. 11. Hirene. Anton Sabell.

If the lesse thinges be denied to Women, the greater can not be granted.

defense of those that be accused, nether that will admit her accusation intended against man, will not approve her that she shal sit in judgement crowned with the royal crowne, usurping authoritie in the middest of men.

But now to the second part of Nature, in the whiche I include the reveled will and perfect ordinance of God; and against this parte of nature, I say, that it doth manifestlie repugne that any Woman shal reigne or beare dominion over man. For God, first by the order of his creation, and after by the curse and malediction pronounced against the woman, by the reason of her rebellion, hath pronounced the contrarie. First, I say, that woman in her greatest perfection was made to serve and obey man, not to rule and command him. As Saint Paule doth reason in these wordes: "Man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man. And man was not created for the cause of the woman, but the woman for the cause of man; and therfore oght the woman to have a power upon her head," (that is, a coverture in signe of subjection). Of whiche words it is plaine that the Apostle meaneth, that woman in her greatest perfection, shuld have knowen that man was Lord above her; and therfore that she shulde never have pretended any kind of superioritie above him, no more then do the Angels above God the Creator, or above Christ Jesus their head. So I say, that in her greatest perfection, woman was created to be subject to man. But after her fall and rebellion committed against God, there was put upon her a newe necessitie, and she was made subject to man by the irrevocable sentence of God, pronounced in these wordes: "I will greatlie multiplie thy sorowe and thy conception: With sorowe shalt thou beare thy children, and thy will shall be subject to thy man: and he shal beare dominion over thee." Herebie may such as altogither be not blinded plainlie see, that God by his sentence hath dejected all women frome empire and dominion above man. For two punishmentes are laid upon her, to witte, a dolor, anguishe, and payn, as oft as ever

Woman in her greatest perfection was made to serve man.

1 Cor. 11.

A good comparison.

A newe necessity of Woman's subjection.

Woman, by the sentence of God, subject to man. Gene. 3.

she shal be mother; and a subjection of her self, her appetites, and will, to her husband, and to his will. Frome the former parte of this malediction can nether arte, nobilitie, policie, nor lawe made by man, deliver womankinde; but whosoever atteineth to that honour to be mother, proveth in experience the effect and strength of Goddes word. But (alas!) ignorance of God, ambitioun, and tyrannie, have studied to abolishe and destroy the second parte of Goddes punishment. For women are lifted up to be heades over realmes, and to rule above men at their pleasure and appetites. But horrible is the vengeance which is prepared for the one and for the other, for the promoters, and for the persones promoted,[1] except they spedelie repent. For they shall be dejected from the glorie of the sonnes of God to the sclaverie of the Devill, and to the tormente that is prepared for all suche as do exalte them selves against God. Against God can nothing be more manifest then that a woman shall be exalted to reigne above man: for the contrarie sentence hath He pronounced in these wordes: "Thy will shall be subject to thy husband, and he shall beare dominion over thee." As God shuld say, 'Forasmuch as thou hast abused thy former condition, and because thy free will hath broght thy selfe and mankind into the bondage of Satan, I therefore will bring thee in bondage to man. For where before thy obedience shuld have bene voluntarie, nowe it shall be by constreint and by necessitie; and that because thou hast deceived thy man, thou shalt therefore be no longer maistresse over thine own appetites, over thine owne will or desires. For in thee there is nether reason nor discretion whiche be able to moderate thy affections, and therfore they shall be subject to the desire of thy man. He shall be Lord and Governour, not onlie over thy bodie, but even over thy appetites and will.' This sentence, I say, did God pronounce against Heva and her daughters, as the rest of the Scriptures doth evidentlie witnesse. So that no woman can ever presume to reigne above

The punishement of Women unjustlie promoted, and of their Promoters.

Gene. 3.

[1] See note *supra*, p. 369.

man, but the same she must nedes do in despite of God, and in contempt of his punishment and maledictiõn. Let all Women take hede.

I am not ignorant, that the most part of men do understand this malediction of the subjection of the wife to her husband, and of the dominion which he beareth above her; but the Holie Ghost geveth to us an other interpretation of this place, taking from all women all kinde of superioritie, authoritie, and power over man, speaking as foloweth by the mouth of Saint Paule: "I suffer not a woman to teache, nether yet to usurpe authoritie above man." Here he nameth women in generall, excepting none; affirming that she may usurpe authoritie above no man. And that he speaketh more plainlie in an other place in these wordes: "Let women kepe silence in the Congregation, for it is not permitted to them to speake, but to be subject, as the lawe sayeth." These two testimonies of the Holy Ghost be sufficient to prove what soever we have affirmed before, and to represse the inordinate pride of women, as also to correct the foolishnes of those that have studied to exalt women in authoritie above men, against God and against his sentence pronounced. But that the same two places of the Apostle may the better be understand, it is to be noted, that in the latter, which is writen in the First Epistle to the Corinthes, the 14. chapitre, before the Apostle had permitted that all persones shuld prophecie one after an other, addinge this reason, "that all may learne and all may receive consolation;" and lest that any might have judged, that amongest a rude multitude, and the pluralitie of speakers, manie thinges litle to purpose might have bene affirmed, or elles that some confusion might have risen, he addeth, "The spirites of the prophetes are subject to the prophetes;" as he shuld say, God shall alwayes raise up some to whome the veritie shalbe reveled, and unto such ye shal geve place, albeit they sit in the lowest seates. And thus the Apostle wold have prophesying an exercise to be free to the hole Churche, that everie one shuld communicate with the Congregation what God had reveled to them, provid- Answer to an objection. 1 Tim. 2. 1 Cor. 14.

generall inge that it were orderlie done. But frome this generall pri-
re is secluded. viledge he secludeth all women, saying, "Let women kepe silence
in the Congregation." And why, I pray you? Was it because
that the Apostle thoght no woman to have any knowledge?
No; he geveth an other reason, saying, "Let her be subject, as
the lawe saith." In which wordes is first to be noted, that the
Apostle calleth this former sentence pronounced against woman
a lawe, that is, the immutable decree of God, who by his owne
voice hath subjected her to one membre of the Congregation,
that is to her husband. Wherupon the Holie Ghost concludeth,
that she may never rule nor bear empire above man: for she
that is made subject to one, may never be preferred to many.
And that the Holie Ghoste doth manifestlie expresse, saying:
"I suffer not that woman usurpe authoritie above man;" he
sayth not, I will not that woman usurpe authoritie above her
husband, but he nameth man in generall, taking from her all
power and authoritie to speake, to reason, to interprete, or to
teache; but principallie to rule or to judge in the assemblie of
men. So that woman by the lawe of God, and by the inter-
pretation of the Holy Ghost, is utterly forbidden to occupie the
place of God in the offices afore said, which he hath assigned
to man, whome he hath appointed and ordeined his lieutenant
in earth, secluding frome that honor and dignitie all women, as
this short argument shall evidentlie declare.

The Apostle taketh power frome all women to speake in the
Assemblie: *Ergo*, he permitteth no woman to rule above man
The former parte is evident, wherupon doth the conclusion
necessitie folowe: For he that taketh from woman the lea
parte of authoritie, dominion, or rule, will not permit unto l
that whiche is greatest. But greater it is to reigne ab
realmes and nations, to publish and to make lawes, and
commande men of all estates, and finallie, to appoint ju
and ministers, then to speake in the Congregation. Fo
judgement, sentence, or opinion proposed in the Congreg
may be judged by all, may be corrected by the learne

ie that is sub-
ct to one may
ot rule many.

A strong argu-
ment.

NOTE.

reformed by the godlie. But woman being promoted in sovereine authoritie, her lawes must be obeyed, her opinion folowed, and her tyrannie mainteined, supposing that it be expreslie against God and the prophet[1] of the Common-welth, as to manifest experience doth this day witnesse. And therfore yet againe I repete, that whiche before I have affirmed, to witt, that a woman promoted to sit in the seate of God, that is, to teache, to judge, or to reigne above man, is a monstre in nature, contumelie to God, and a thing most repugnant to his will and ordinance. For he hath deprived them, as before is proved, of speakinge in the Congregation, and hath expreslie forbidden them to usurpe any kinde of authoritie above man. Howe then will he suffer them to reigne and have empire above realmes and nations? He will never, I say, approve it, because it is a thing most repugnant to his perfect ordinance, as after shalbe declared, and as the former Scriptures have plainlie geven testimonie. To the whiche to adde any thing were superfluous, were it not that the worlde is almost nowe comen to that blindnes, that what soever pleaseth not the princes and the multitude, the same is rejected as doctrine newelie forged, and is condemned for heresie. I have therfore thoght good to recite the mindes of some auncient writers in the same mater, to the end that suche as altogither be not blinded by the Devil, may consider and understand this my judgement to be no newe interpretation of Goddes Scriptures, but to be the uniforme consent of the most parte of godlie writers since the time of the Apostles.

Tertullian in his boke of Women's Apparell, after that he hath shewed many causes why gorgious apparell is abominable and odiouse in a woman, addeth these wordes, speaking as it were to every woman by name: "Dost thou not knowe (saith he) that thou art Heva? The sentence of God liveth and is effectuall against this kind; and in this worlde, of necessity it is, that the punishement also live. Thou art the

Tertullian, de Habitu Mulierum.

Let Women hearken what Tertullian, an olde Doctor, saith.

[1] Evidently, the profit.

porte and gate of the Devil. Thou art the first transgressor of Goddes law. Thou diddest persuade and easely deceive him whome the Devil durst not assault. For thy merit (that is for thy death) it behoved the Sone of God to suffre the death, and doth it yet abide in thy mind to decke thee above thy skin coates!"

By these and many other grave sentences and quicke interrogations, did this godlie writer labour to bring everie woman in contemplation of herselfe, to the end that everie one depelie weying what sentence God had pronounced against the hole race and doughters of Heva, might not onely learne daily to humble and subject them selves in the presence of God, but also that they shulde avoide and abhorre what soever thing might exalte them or puffe them up in pride, or that might be occasion that they shuld forget the curse and maledictiion of God. And what, I pray you, is more able to cause woman to forget her owne condition, then if she be lifted up in authoritie above man? It is a thing verie difficile to a man (be he never so constant) promoted to honors, not to be tickled some what with pride; (for the winde of vaine glorie doth easelie carie up the drie dust of the earth). But as for woman, it is no more possible that she being set aloft in authoritie above man shall resist the motions of pride, then it is able to the weake reed, or to the turning wethercocke, not to bowe or turne at the vehemencie of the unconstant wind. And therefore the same writer expreslie forbiddeth all women to intermedle with the office of man. For thus he writeth in his book *de Virginibus Velandis:* "It is not permitted to a woman to speake in the Congregation, nether to teache, nether to baptise, nether to vendicate to her selfe any office of man." The same he speaketh yet more plainly in the Preface of his Sixte Boke writen against Marcion, where he, recounting certein monstruous thinges whiche were to be sene at the Sea called Euxinum, amongest the rest, he reciteth this as a greate monstre in nature, "that women in those partes were not tamed

NOTE.

Tertull. lib 8, de Virginibus Velandis.

In prœmio 6 lib. contra Marcionem.

nor embased by consideration of their own sex and kind, but that all shame laide a parte, they made expenses upon weapons, and learned the feates of warre, havinge more pleasure to fight then to mary and be subject to man." Thus farre of Tertullian, whose wordes be so plain, that they nede no explanation. For he that taketh from her all office apperteining to man, will not suffre her to reigne above man; and he that judgeth it a monstre in nature that a woman shall exercise weapons, must judge it to be a monstre of monstres that a woman shalbe exalted above a hole realme and nation. Of the same minde is Origen and divers others, yea, even till the dayes of Augustine; whose sentences I omit to avoide prolixitie.

Augustine, in his Twentie-second Boke writen against Faustus, proveth that a woman oght to serve her husband as unto God, affirming, that in no thing hath woman equal power with man, saving that nether of both have power over their owne bodies. By whiche he wold plainlie conclude, that woman oght never to pretend nor thirst for that power and authoritie which is due to man. For so he doth explane him selfe in an other place, affirming that woman oght to be repressed and brideled betimes, if she aspire to any dominion; alledging that dangerous and perillous it is to suffre her to procede, althogh it be in temporall and corporall thinges. And therto he addeth these wordes: "God seeth not for a time, nether is there any newe thinge in his sight and knowledge;" meaninge therby, that what God hath sene in one woman (as concerning dominion and bearing of authoritie) the same he seeth in all; and what he hath forbidden to one, the same he also forbiddeth to all. And this most evidentlie yet in an other place he writeth, moving this question, Howe can woman be the image of God, seing (saith he) she is subject to man, and hath none authoritie, nether to teache, nether to be witnesse, nether to judge, muche lesse to rule or beare empire? These be the verie wordes of Augustine, of which it is evident that this godlie writer doth not onelie agree withe Tertullian before recited,

August. lib. 1 contra Faustu c. 31.

De Trinitat. lib. 12, cap. 7.

In quæst. Vet Testamenti, quæst. 43.

Nota.

fore it is subject unto him; even so did woman take beginning from man that she shuld be subject." Thus we heare the agreing of these two writers to be such, that a man might judge the one to have stolen the wordes and sentences from the other. And yet plain it is, that duringe the time of their writinge, the one was farre distant frome the other. But the Holie Ghost, who is the spirite of concorde and unitie, did so illuminate their hartes, and directe their tonges and pennes, that as they did conceive and understand one truth, so did they pronounce and utter the same, leaving a testimonie of their knowledge and concorde to us their posteritie.

If any thinke that all these former sentences be spoken onlie of the subjection of the maryed woman to her husband, as before I have proved the contrarie by the plain wordes and reasoning of S. Paule, so shal I shortlie do the same by other testimonies of the forsaid writers. The same Ambrose, writing upon the second chapitre of the First Epistle to Timothie, after he hath spoken much of the simple arrayment of women, he addeth these wordes: "Woman ought not onlie to have simple arrayment, but all authoritie is to be denied unto her: for she must be in subjection to man (of whome she hath taken her originall) aswell in habit as in service." And after a fewe wordes, he saith, "Because that death did entre in to the world by her, there is no boldenes that ought to be permitted unto her, but she ought to be in humilitie." Hereof it is plain, that frome all woman,[1] be she maried or unmaried, is all authoritie taken to execute any office that apperteineth to man; yea, plain it is, that all woman is commanded to serve, to be in humilitie and subjection. Whiche thing yet speaketh the same writer more plainlie in these wordes: "It is not permitted to women to speake, but to be in silence, as the Lawe saith. What saith the Lawe? 'Unto thy husband shall thy conversion be, and he shall beare dominion over thee.' This is a speciall lawe (saith Ambrose), whose sentence lest it shulde be violated, infirmed,

Ambr 2 c. 1 Timot

Ambr 1 Epist c. p. 14

Genes.

[1] "All woman," every woman.

or made weake, women are commanded to be in silence." Here he includeth all women; and yet he procedeth further in the same place, saying, "It is shame for them to presume to speake of the lawe, in the house of the Lord, who hath commanded them to be subject to their men." But moste plainly speaketh he, writing upon the 16. chapitre of the Epistle of S. Paule to the Romaines, upon these wordes: "Salute Rufus and his mother." "For this cause (saith Ambrose) did the Apostle place Rufus before his mother, for the election of the administration of the grace of God, in the whiche a woman hath no place. For he was chosen and promoted by the Lorde to take care over his business, that is, over the Churche, to the whiche office could not his mother be appointed, albeit she was a woman so holie that the Apostle called her his mother." Hereof it is plaine, that the administration of the grace of God is denied to all woman. By the administration of Goddes grace, is understand not only the preaching of the Worde and administration of the Sacramentes, by the whiche the grace of God is presented and ordinarilie distributed unto man, but also the administration of Civile Justice, by the whiche vertue oght to be mainteined, and vices punished. The execution wherof is no less denied to woman, then is the preaching of the Evangile, or administration of the Sacramentes, as herafter shall most plainlie appeare.

Whose house, I pray you, oght the Parliament house to be, Goddes or the Devilles?

Rufus is by S. Paul saluted before his mother.

Chrysostome, amongest the Grecian writers of no small credit, speaking in rebuke of men, who in his dayes were becomen inferior to some women in witt and in godlines, saith, "For this cause was woman put under thy power (he speaketh to man in generall), and thou wast pronounced Lorde over her, that she shulde obey thee, and that the head shuld not folowe the feet. But often it is, that we see the contrary, that he who in his ordre oght to be the head, doth not kepe the ordre of the feet (that is, doth not rule the feet), and that she that is in place of the foote is constitute to be the head." He speaketh these wordes, as it were in admiration that man was

Chrysost. Homil. 17. in Genes.

Note.

becomen so brutish, that he did not consider it to be a thing most monstruous, that woman shulde be preferred to man in any thing, whom God had subjected to man in all thinges. He procedeth, saying, "Neverthelesse, it is the parte of the man, with diligent care, to repel the woman that geveth him wicked counsel; and woman, whiche gave that pestilent counsel to man, ought at all times to have the punishment whiche was geven to Heva, sounding in her eares." And in an other place, he induceth[1] God speaking to the woman in this sorte: "Because thou left him, of whose nature thou wast participant, and for whome thou wast formed, and hast had pleasure to have familiaritie with that wicked beast, and wold take his counsel; therfore I subject thee to man, and I appointe and affirme him to be thy Lord, that thou maist acknowledge his dominion, and because thou couldest not beare rule, learne well to be ruled." Why they shulde not beare rule, he declareth in other places, saying, "Womankinde is imprudent and soft (or flexible); imprudent, because she can not consider withe wisdome and reason the thinges which she heareth and seeth; and softo she is, because she is easelie bowed." I know that Chrysostome bringeth in these wordes, to declare the cause why false prophetes do commonlie deceive women, because they are easelie persuaded to any opinion, especiallie if it be against God; and because they lacke prudence and right reason to judge the things that be spoken. But hereof may their nature be espied, and the vices of the same, whiche in no wise ought to be in those that are apointed to governe others: For they oght to be constant, stable, prudent, and doing everie thing with discretion and reason, whiche vertues women can not have in equalitie with men. For that he doth witnesse in an other place, saying, "Women have in themselves a tickling and studie of vaine glorie; and that they may have common with men: they are sodeinlie moved to anger; and that they have also common with some men. But vertues in which they excell,

Homil. 15. in Genes.

God graunt al Women's hart to underst and and follow thi sentence!

In Mat. cap. Homil. 44.

Woman can n have vertue i equalitie with Man.

Ad Ephe. cap. Sermone 13.

Note.

[1] "He induceth," he bringeth in.

ment, in common affaires, or in the regiment of the Common welth; because she is impacient of troubles; but that she shall live in tranquillitie and quietnes. And if she have occasion to go frome the house, that yet she shal have no matter of trouble, nether to folowe her, nether to be offered unto her, as commonlie there must be to such as beare authoritie.

Basilius Mag. in aliquot Scripturæ locos.

And with Chrysostome fullie agreeth Basilius Magnus, in a sermon which he maketh upon some places of Scripture, wherin he reproveth divers vices; and amongest the rest, he affirmeth woman to be a tendre creature, flexible, soft, and pitifull; whiche nature God hath geven unto her, that she may be apt to norishe children. The which facilitie of the woman did Satan abuse, and therby broght her frome the obedience of God. And, therfore, in divers other places doth he conclude that she is not apt to beare rule, and that she is forbidden to teache.

Innumerable mo testimonies of all sortes of writers may be adduced for the same purpose, but withe these I stand content; judgeing it sufficient, to stoppe the mouthe of such as accuse and condemne all doctrine as hereticall whiche displeaseth them in any point, that I have proved by the determinations and lawes of men illuminated onelie by the light of nature, by the ordre of Goddes creation, by the curse and maledictiion pronounced against woman by the mouth of Saint Paule, who is the interpreter of Goddes sentence and lawe, and finallie, by the mindes of those writers who, in the Church of God, have bene alwayes holden in greatest reverence, That it is a thing most repugnant to nature, to Goddes will and apointed ordinance, (yea, that it can not be without contumelie committed against God,) that a Woman shuld be promoted to dominion or empire, to reigne over man, be it in realme, nation, province, or citie. Now resteth it in fewe wordes to be shewed, that the same empire of Women is the subversion of good ordre, equitie, and justice.

De Ordine, lit 1 c. 10.

Augustine defineth Ordre to be that thing by the whiche God hath apointed and ordeined all thinges. Note well,

reader, that Augustine will admit no ordre where Goddes apointment is absent and lacketh. And in an other place he saith, "that ordre is a disposition, geving their owne propre places to thinges that be unequall," which he termeth in Latin, *parium et disparium*, that is, of thinges equal or like, and thinges unequall or unlike. Of whiche two places, and of the hole disputation, which is conteined in his second boke *De Ordine*, it is evident, that whatsoever is done either without the assurance of Goddes will, or elles against his will manifestlie reveled in his Word, is done against ordre. But suche is the empire and regiment of all Woman (as evidentlie before is declared); and therfore, I say, it is a thing plainlie repugnant to good ordre, yea, it is the subversion of the same.

De Civit. Dei, lib. 19, cap. 13.

Lib nent

What soever is done withowt the appointment of Goddes will, is done withowt ordre.

If any list to reject the definition of Augustine, as either not propre to this purpose, or elles as insufficient to prove mine intent, let the same man understand, that in so doinge he hath infirmed mine argument nothinge. For as I depend not upon the determinations of men, so think I my cause no weaker, albeit their authoritie be denied unto me; provided that God by his will reveled, and manifest Worde, stand plain and evident on my side.

Amb Hexa lib. 6

That God hath subjected Womankinde to man, by the ordre of his creation, and by the curse that he hath pronounced against her, is before declared. Besides these, he hath set before our eyes two other Mirrors and glasses, in whiche he will that we shulde behold the ordre which he hath appointed and established in nature: The one is the naturall bodie of man; the other is the politik or civile body of that common welth, in which God by his own Word hath apointed an ordre. In the natural body of man, God hath apointed an ordre that the head shall occupie the uppermost place; and the head hath he joyned with the bodie, that frome it doth life and motion flowe to the rest of the membres. In it hath he placed the eye to see, the eare to hear, and the tonge to speake, which offices are apointed to none other membre of the bodie.

Cap.

Two Mirrors in which we may beholde the ordre of nature.

The rest of the membres have every one their own place and office apointed, but none may have nether the place nor office of the heade. For who wolde not judge that bodie to be a monstre, where there was no head eminent above the rest, but that the eyes were in the handes, the tonge and mouth beneth in the bellie, and the eares in the feet? Men, I say, shulde not onlie pronounce this bodie to be a monstre, but assuredlie they might conclude that such a bodie coulde not long indure. And no lesse monstruous is the bodie of that Common welth where a Woman beareth empire; for either doth it lack a laufull heade (as in very dede it doth), or els there is an idol exalted in the place of the true head. An idol I call that which hath the forme and appearance, but lacketh the vertue and strength which the name and proportion do resemble and promise. As images have face, nose, eyes, mouth, handes, and feet painted, but the use of the same can not the craft and art of man geve them, as the Holy Ghost by the mouth of David teacheth us, saying, "They have eyes, but they see not: mouth, but they speake not: nose, but they smell not: handes and feet, but they nether touche nor have power to go." And suche, I say, is everie realme and nation where a Woman beareth dominion: for in despite of God (he of his just judgement so geving them over in to a reprobat minde) may a realme, I confesse, exalt up a woman to that monstriferous honor, to be estemed as head. But impossible it is to man and angel to geve unto her the properties and perfect offices of a laufull heade; for the same God that hath denied power to the hand to speake, to the belly to heare, and to the feet to see, hath denied to woman power to commande man, and hath taken away wisdome to consider, and providence to forsee, the thinges that be profitable to the common welth; yea, finallie, he hath denied to her in any case to be head to man, but plainly hath pronounced that "Man is head to woman, even as Christ is heade to all man."[1]

Common welthes under the rule of Women lacke a laufull heade.

Idol.

Psal. 115.

The Empire of a Woman is an Idol.

1 Cor. 11.

If men in a blinde rage shulde assemble together, and apointe

[1] "All man," every man.

themselves an other heade then Jesus Christ, (as the Papistes have done their Romishe Antichrist,) shuld Christ therfore lose his owne dignitie, or shulde God geve to that counterfet head power to geve life to the bodie, to see what soever might endamage or hurte it, to speake in defense, and to heare the request of everie subject? It is certein that he wold not. For that honor he hath apointed before all times to his onelie Sonne; and
Note. the same will he geve to no creature besides. No more will he admit nor accept woman to be the lauful head over man, althogh man, devil, and angel will conjure in their favor. For seing he hath subjected her to one (as before is saide), he will never permit her to reigne over manie. Seing he hath commanded her to heare and obey one, he will not suffre that she speake, and with usurped authoritie command realmes and nations.
1 Cor. 11. Chrysostome explaning these wordes of the Apostle, "The heade of woman is man," compareth God in his universall regiment to
Marke the similitude of Chrysostome. a king sitting in his royall majestie, to whome all his subjectes, commanded to geve homage and obedience, appeare before him, bearing everie one suche a badge and cognisance of dignitie and honor as he hath geven to them; which if they despise and contemne, then do they dishonor their king. "Even so, (saith he) ought man and woman to appeare before God, bearing the ensignes of the condition whiche they have received of him. Man hath received a certein glorie and dignitie above the woman; and therfore ought he to appeare before his high Majestie bearing the signe of his honour, havinge no coverture upon his heade, to witnesse that in earth man hath no head."
Note. Beware Chrysostome what thou saist! thou shalt be reputed a traytor if Englishe men heare thee, for they must have my Sovereine Lady and Maistresse; and Scotland hath dronken also the enchantment and venom of Circes, let it be so to their owne shame and confusion. He procedeth in these wordes,
"But woman ought to be covered, to witnesse that in earth she
Howe Women be covered in England and Scotland. had a head, that is man." Trewe it is, Chrysostome, woman is covered in both the said realmes, but it is not with the signe of

subjection, but it is with the signe of superioritie, to witte, with the royal crowne. To that he answereth in these wordes: "What if man neglect his honor? he is no lesse to be mocked (saith Chrysostome) then if a king shulde depose himself of his diademe or crowne and royal estat, and cloth him self in the habit of a sclave." What, I pray you, shulde this godlie Father have saide, if he had sene all the men of a realme or nation fall downe before a woman? If he had sene the crowne, sceptre, and sworde, whiche are ensignes of the royall dignitie, geven to her, and a woman cursed of God, and made subjecte to man, placed in the throne of justice to sit as Goddes lieutenant? What, I say, in this behalfe, shuld any hart unfeinedlie fearing God have judged of suche men? I am assured that not onlie shulde they have bene judged foolishe, but also enraged and sclaves to Satan, manifestlie fighting against God and his apointed ordre.

The more that I consider the subversion of Goddes ordre, which he hath placed generallie in all livinge thinges, the more I do wondre at the blindnes of man, who doth not consider him self in this case so degenerate, that the brute beastes are to be preferred unto him in this behalfe: For nature hath in all beastes printed a certein marke of dominion in the male, and a certeine subjection in the female, whiche they kepe inviolate. For no man ever sawe the lion make obedience, and stoupe before the lionesse; nether yet can it be proved that the hinde taketh the conducting of the heard amongest the hartes. And yet (alas!) man, who by the mouth of God hath dominion apointed to him over woman, doth not onlie to his own shame stoupe under the obedience of women, but also, in despit of God and of his apointed ordre, rejoyseth and mainteineth that monstruous authoritie as a thing lauful and just. The insolent joy, the bonefiers, and banketing, which were in London, and els where in England, when that cursed Jesabell was proclaimed Qwene, did witnesse to my hart that men were becomen more then enraged; for els howe coulde

Brute beastes to be preferred.

Insolent joy bringeth sodein sorowe.

they so have rejoysed at their owne confusion and certein destruction? For what man was there of so base judgement (supposing that he had any light of God), who did not see the erecting of that monstre to be the overthrowe of true religion, and the assured destruction of England, and of the auncient liberties therof? And yet, neverthelesse, all men so triumphed, as if God had delivered them frome all calamitie.

But just and rightuouse, terrible and fearfull, are thy judgementes, O Lorde! For as some times thou diddest so punishe men for unthankfulnes, that man ashamed not to commit villanie with man, and that because, that knowinge thee to be God, they glorified thee not as God, even so haste thou moste justlie nowe punished the proude rebellion and horrible ingratitude of the Realmes of England and Scotland. For when thou diddest offre thy selfe moste mercifullie to them both, offering the meanes by the whiche they might have bene joyned together for ever in godly concorde, then was the one proud and cruel, and the other unconstant and fikle of promise. But yet (alas!) did miserable England further rebell against thee. For albeit thou diddest not cease to heape benefit upon benefit during the reigne of an innocent and tendre King, yet no man did acknowledge thy potent hand and mervelous working. The stoute courage of capitaines, the witte and policie of counselers, the learning of bishoppes, did robbe thee of thy glorie and honor. For what then was heard as concerning religion, but, The Kinges procedinges, the Kinges procedinges must be obeyed? It is enacted by Parliament, therfore it is treason to speake in the contrarie. But this was not the end of this miserable tragedie. For thou diddest yet procede to offre thy favors, sending thy prophetes and messagers to call for reformation of life in all estates. For even frome the highest to the lowest, all were declined frome thee, (yea, even those that shuld have bene the lanterns to others); some, I am assured, did qwake and tremble, and frome the botome of their hartes thirsted amendment, and for the same purpose did earnestly

Rom. 1.

What robbed God of his honor in England in the time of the Gospell.

Goddes benefites shewed to England.

call for discipline. But then brust furth the venome which before lurked; then might they not conteine their despiteful voices, but with open mouthes did crie, We will not have suche a one to reigne over us. Then, I say, was everie man so stoute that he wolde not be broght in bondage; no, not to thee, O Lord, but with disdein did the multitude cast frome them the amiable yoke of Christ Jesus. No man wolde suffre his sinne to be rebuked, no man wolde have his life called to triall. And thus did they refuse thee, O Lorde, and thy Sonne Christ Jesus to be their pastor, protector, and prince. And therfore hast thou geven them over in to a reprobat minde. Thou hast taken from them the spirit of boldnes, of wisdome, and of rightuous judgement. They see their owne destruction, and yet they have no grace to avoide it. Yea, they are becomen so blinde, that, knowing the pit, they headlong cast them selves in to the same, as the nobilitie of England do this day, fighting in the defense of their mortall ennemie the Spaniard. Finallie, they are so destitute of understanding and judgement, that althogh they knowe that there is a libertie and fredome, the whiche their predecessors have injoyed, yet are they compelled to bowe their neckes under the yoke of Satan, and of his proude ministres, pestilent Papistes and proude Spaniardes. And yet can they not consider, that where a Woman reigneth and Papistes beare authoritie, that there must nedes Satan be president of the counsel. Thus hast thou, O Lorde, in thy hote displeasure, revenged the contempt of thy graces offred. But, O Lord, if thou shalt reteine wrath to the end, what fleshe is able to susteine? We have sinned, O Lord, and are not worthy to be releved. But worthy art thou, O Lord, to be a true God, and worthy is thy Sonne Christ Jesus to have his Evangel and glorie advanced, whiche both are troden under foot in this cruell murther and persecution, whiche the builders of Babylon commit in their furie, have raised against thy children for the establishing of their kingdome. Let the sobbes therfore of thy prisoners, O Lord, passe up to thine eares; con-

Discipline refused in England.

The Nobilitie and the hole Realme of England, caste themselves willingly into the pit.

Confession.

sider their affliction; and let the eyes of thy mercie looke downe upon the blood of such as die for testimonie of thy eternal veritie; and let not thine ennemies mocke thy judgement for ever. To thee, O Lorde, I turne my wretched and wicked hart; to thee alone I direct my complaint and grones; for in that Ile to thy saintes there is left no comforte.

Albeit I have thus (talkinge with my God in the anguishe of my harte) some what digressed, yet have I not utterlie forgotten my former proposition, to witt, That it is a thing repugnant to the ordre of Nature that any Woman be exalted to rule over men. For God hath denied unto her the office of a heade. And in the intreating of this parte, I remembre that I have made the Nobilitie both of England and Scotland inferior to brute beastes, for that they do to women which no male amongest the common sorte of beastes can be proved to do to their female, that is, they reverence them, and qwake at their presence; they obey their commandementes, and that against God. Wherfore I judge them not onelie subjectes to women, but sclaves of Satan, and servantes of iniquitie. If any man thinke these my wordes sharpe or vehement, let him consider that the offense is more haynous then can be expressed by wordes. For where all thinges be expressedly concluded against the glorie and honor of God, and where the blood of the saints of God is commanded to be shed, whome shall we judge, God or the
NOTE. Devil, to be president of that counsel? Plain it is, that God ruleth not by his love, mercie, nor grace in the assembly of the ungodlie: Then it resteth that the Devil, the prince of this worlde, doth reigne over suche tyrannes. Whose servantes, I pray you, shal then be judged such as obey and execute their tyrannie? God, for his greate mercies sake, illuminate the eyes of men, that they may preceive in to what miserable bondage they be broght by the monstriferous empire of Women!

NOTE. The Seconde glasse whiche God hath set before the eyes of man, wherin he may beholde the ordre whiche pleaseth his wisdome, concerning authoritie and dominion, is that common

welth, to the whiche it pleaseth his Majestie to apoint and geve lawes, statutes, rites, and ceremonies, not onelie concerning religion, but also touching their policie and regiment of the same. And against that ordre it doth manifestly repugne, that any Woman shall occupie the throne of God, that is, the royall seate, which he by his Worde hath apointed to man; as in geving the lawe to Israel, concerning the election of a king, is evident. For thus it is writen, "If thou shalt say, I will apoint a king above me, as the rest of the nations whiche are about me; thou shalt make thee a kinge, whome the Lorde thy God shall chose: one frome amongest the middest of thy bretheren thou shalt apointe kinge above thee: thou maist not make a strangier, that is not thy brother." Here expressedly is a man apointed to be chosen king, and a man native amongest themselves; by whiche precept is all woman and all strangier secluded. Deut. 17

What may be objected for the parte or election of a strangier shalbe, God willinge, answered in THE BLAST OF THE SECOND TRUMPET. For this present, I say, that the erecting of a Woman to that honor is not onely to invert the ordre which God hath established, but also it is to defile, pollute, and prophane (so farre as in man lieth) the throne and seat of God, whiche he hath sanctified and apointed for man onely, in the course of this wretched life, to occupie and possesse as his ministre and lieutenant, secluding from the same all woman, as before is expressed. If any thinke that the fore written lawe did binde the Jewes onelie, let the same man consider that the election of a kinge and apointing of judges did nether apperteine to the Ceremoniall lawe, nether yet was it mere Judiciall, but that it did flowe frome the Morall lawe, as an ordinance, having respect to the conservation of both the Tables. For the office of the Magistrate oght to have the first and chief respect to the glorie of God, commanded and conteined in the former Table, as is evident by that whiche was injoyned to Josue by God, what time he was accepted and ad-

God hath ed man l nistre an tenant.

Answer t Objectio

The Elec King flo frome th Lawe.

mitted ruler and governer over his people, in these wordes:
Josue 1. "Thou shalt divide the inheritance to this people, the whiche I have sworne to their fathers to geve unto them: so that thou be valiant and strong, that thou maist kepe and do according to that hole lawe, whiche my servant Moses hath commanded thee: thou shalt not decline frome it, nether to the right hande, nether to the left hand, that thou maist do prudentlie in all thinges that thou takest in hand. Let not the boke of this lawe departe from thy mouth; but meditate in it day and night, that thou maist kepe and do according to every thing
Rulers should take hede to this. that is writen in it: for then shall thy wayes prosper, and then shalt thou do prudently," &c. And the same precept geveth God by the mouth of Moses to kinges, after they be
Deut. 17. elected, in these wordes: "When he shal sit in the throne, or seate of his kingdome, he shall write to himself a copie of this lawe in a boke: and that shalbe with him, that he may reade in it all the dayes of his life: that he may learne to feare the Lorde his God, to kepe all the wordes of this lawe, and all these statutes, that he may do them," &c. Of these two places it is evident, that principallie it apperteineth to the King, or to the Chief Magistrate, to knowe the will of God, to be instructed in his Lawe and Statutes, and to promote his glorie with his hole hart and studie, which be the chief pointes of the First Table. No man denieth, but that the sworde is committed to the Magistrate, to the end that he shulde punishe
What vices Magistrates ought to punishe. vice and mainteine vertue. To punishe vice, I say; not onelie that whiche troubleth the tranquilitie and quiet estat of the common welth, by adulterie, theft, or murther committed, but also suche vices as openly impugne the glorie of God, as idolatrie, blasphemie, and manifest heresie, taught and obstinatly mainteined, as the histories and notable actes of Ezechias, Josaphat, and Josias[1] do plainlie teache us, whose study and care was not onlie to glorifie God in their own life and conversation, but also they unfeinedlie did travel to bring their sub-

[1] According to our present version, Hezekiah, Jehoshaphat, and Josiah.

jects to the true worshipping and honoring of God; and did destroye all monuments of idolatrie, did punishe to death the teachers of it, and removed frome office and honors suche as were mainteiners of those abominations: Wherbie, I suppose, that it be evident, that the office of the King, or Supreme Magistrate, hath respect to the Lawe Morall, and to the conservation of both the Tables.

Nowe, if the Lawe Morall be the constant and unchangeable will of God, to the which the Gentil is no lesse bounde then was the Jewe; and if God will, that amongest the Gentiles the ministres and executors of his lawe be now apointed, as sometimes they were apointed amongest the Jewes; further, if the execution of justice be no lesse requisite in the policie of the Gentiles, then ever it was amongest the Jewes; what man can be so foolishe to suppose or beleve, that God will nowe admit those persons to sit in judgement, or to reigne over men in the common welth of the Gentiles, whom he by his expressed word and ordinance did before debarre and seclude from the same? And that Women were secluded from the royall seate, the which ght to be the sanctuarie to all poore afflicted, and therfore is justlie called the seat of God, (besides the place before recited of the election of a King, and besides the places of the Newe Testament, whiche be moste evident,) the ordre and election which was kept in Juda and Israel doth manifestlie declare. For when the males of the kinglie stocke failed, as oft as it chaunced in Israel, and sometimes in Juda, it never entered in to the hartes of the people to chose and promote to honors any of the Kinges doughters, (had he never so many); but knowing Goddes vengeance to be poured furth upon the father by the away-taking of his sonnes, they had no further respect to his stocke, but elected suche one man or other as they judged most apt for that honor and authoritie. Of whiche premisses, I conclude (as before) that to promote a Woman heade over men is repugnant to Nature, and a thinge moste contrarious to that Ordre whiche God hath approved in

Nota. The Gentil no lesse bounde to the Lawe Moral then the Jewe.

Nota.

that common welth whiche he did institute and rule by his Worde.

But nowe to the last point, to wit, that the empire of a Woman is a thing repugnant to Justice, and the destruction of everie Common welth where it is received. In probation wherof, because the mater is more then evident, I will use fewe wordes. First, I say, if justice be a constant and perpetuall will to geve to everie person their own right, (as the moste learned in all ages have defined it to be,) then to geve, or to will to geve, to any person that whiche is not their right, must repugne to justice. But to reigne above man can never be the right to woman, because it is a thing denied unto her by God, as is before declared. Therfore to promote her to that estat or dignitie can be no thing els but repugnancie to Justice. If I shulde speake no more, this were sufficient. For except that either they can improve the definition of justice, or els that they can intreate God to revoke and call back his sentence pronounced against woman, they shalbe compelled to admit my conclusion. If any find faute with Justice as it is defined, he may well accuse others, but me he shall not hurt, for I have the shield, the weapon, and the warrant of Him, who assuredlie will defend this quarel, and he commandeth me to crie: "What soever repugneth to the will of God, expressed in his most sacred Worde, repugneth to Justice: but that Women have authoritie over men, repugneth to the will of God expressed in his Worde: and therfore mine Author commandeth me to conclude, without feare, that all suche authoritie repugneth to Justice." The first parte of the argument, I trust, dare nether Jewe or Gentile denie; for it is a principle not onlie universallie confessed, but also so depelie printed in the hart of man, be his nature never so corrupted, that whether he will or no, he is compelled at one time or other to acknowledge and confess that Justice is violated when thinges are done against the will of God, expressed by his Worde. And to this confession are no less the reprobat co-acted and constrained, then

irst Argu- that the ritie of n repugn- Justice.

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be the chosen children of God, albeit to a divers end. The elect, with displeasure of their facte, confesse their offense, having accesse to grace and mercie, as did Adam, David, Peter, and all other penitent offenders. But the reprobat, notwithstanding they are compelled to acknowledge the will of God to be just, the which they have offended, yet are they never inwardlie displeased with their iniquitie, but rage, complain, and storme against God, whose vengeance they can not escape, as did Cain, Judas, Herode, Julian called Apostata, yea, Jesabel and Athalia. For Cain no doubte was convict in conscience that he had done against justice in murthering of his brother. Judas did openlie before the High Priest confesse that he had sinned in betraying innocent blood. Herode being stricken by the Angel, did mocke those his flaterers, saying unto them, "Beholde your God" (meaning of him selfe) "can not nowe preserve him self frome corruption and wormes." Julianus was compelled in the end to crie, "O, Galilean!" (so alwayes in contempt did he name our Saviour Jesus Christ) "thou hast nowe overcomen." And who doubteth but Jesabel and Athalia, before their miserable end, were convicted in their cankered consciences to acknowledge, that the murther which they had committed, and the empire whiche the one had six yeares usurped, were repugnant to justice? Even so shall they, I doubte not, whiche this daye do possesse and mainteine that monstriferous authoritie of Women, shortlie be compelled to acknowledge that their studies and devises have bene bent against God, and that all such authoritie as Women have usurped repugneth to justice: because, as I have saide, it repugneth to the will of God expressed in his sacred Worde. And if any man doubte herof, let him marke wel the wordes of the Apostle, saying, "I permit not a woman to teache, nether yet to usurpe authoritie above man." No man, I trust, will denie these wordes of the Apostle to be the will of God expressed in his Worde; and he saith openlie, "I permit not," &c., which is asmuch as "I will not," that a woman have authority, charge, or power over man;

Howe the Reprobat confesse Goddes Will to be just.

Genes 4.

Mat. 27.

Women's authoritie bringeth furth monstres.

1 Tim. 2.

for so much importeth the Greke worde αὐθεντεῖν in that place Nowe, let man and angell conspire against God; let them pronounce their lawes, and say, We will suffre women to beare authoritie, who then can depose them? Yet shall this one worde of the eternal God, spoken by the mouth of a weake man, thruste them everie one in to hell. Jesabel may for a time slepe quietlie in the bed of her fornication and hoordome; she
Apoca. 2. may teache and deceive for a season; but nether shall she preserve her selfe, nether yet her adulterous children, frome greate affliction, and frome the sworde of Goddes vengeance, whiche shall shortlie apprehend suche workes of iniquitie. The admonition I differre to the end.

Here might I bring in the oppression and injustice which is committed against realmes and nations, whiche some times lived free, and now are broght in bondage of forein nations by the reason of this monstriferous authoritie and empire of Women. But that I delay till better oportunitie. And now I think it expedient to answer such objections as carnal and worldlie men, yea, men ignorant of God, use to make for maintenance of this tyrannie (authoritie it is not worthie to be called) and most unjuste empire of Woman.

Judic. 4. Para. 3. The defenses of the adversaries. First, They do object the examples of Debora, and of Hulda the prophetesse, of whom the one judged Israel, and the other, by all appearance, did teache and exhorte.

Num. 27. Secondarily, They do object the lawe made by Moses for the doughters of Zalphead.[1]

Thirdlie, The consent of the estates of such realmes as have approved the empire and regiment of Women.

And, last, The long custome which hath received the regiment of Women, their valiant actes and prosperitie, together with some Papistical lawes which have confirmed the same.

Answer to the First Objection. To the First I answer, That particular examples do establishe no common lawe. The causes were knowen to God alone, why he toke the spirite of wisdome and force frome all men of those

[1] In our present version, Zelophehad: Coverdale has it, Zelaphead.

ages; and did so mightely assist women against nature, and against his ordinarie course, that the one he made a deliverer to his afflicted people Israel, and to the other he gave not onlie perseverance in the true religion when the most parte of men had declined frome the same, but also to her he gave the spirit of prophecie, to assure King Josias of the thinges which were to come. With these women, I say, did God worke potentlie and miraculouslie; yea, to them he gave moste singular grace and priviledge. But who hath commanded that a publike, yea, a tyrannicall and moste wicked lawe be established upon these examples? The men that object the same are not altogether ignorant that examples have no strength when the question is of lawe: As if I shuld aske, What mariage is laufull? And it shulde be answered, That laufull it is to man not onlie to have manie wives at ones, but also it is laufull to marie two sisters, and to enjoye them both living at ones, because that David, Jacob, and Salomon, servantes of God, did the same: I trust that no man wold justifie the vanitie of this reason. Or if the question were demanded, If a Christian, with good conscience, may defraude, steale, or deceive? and answer were made, That so he might by the example of the Israelites, who, at Goddes commandment, deceived the Egyptians, and spoiled them of their garments, golde, and sylver: I thinke likewise this reason shuld be mocked. And what greater force, I pray you, hath the former argument? Debora did rule in Israel, and Hulda spoke prophecie in Juda: *Ergo*, It is laufull for Women to reigne above realmes and nations, or to teache in the presence of men. The consequent is vain, and of none effect. For of examples, as is before declared, we may establishe no lawe; but we are alwayes bounde to the Lawe writen, and to the commandement expressed in the same. And the Lawe writen and pronounced by God forbiddeth no lesse that any Woman reigne over man, then it forbiddeth man to take pluralitie of wives, to mary two sisters living at ones, to steale, to robbe, to murther, or to lie. If any of these hath bene transgressed, and yet God

Examples against Lawe have no strength when the question is of Lawe.

NOTE.

hath not imputed the same, it maketh not the like fact or dede lawfull unto us. For God being free, may, for suche causes as be approved by his inscrutable wisdome, dispense with the rigor of his lawe, and may use his creatures at his pleasure. But the same power is not permitted to man, whom he hath made subject to his Lawe, and not to the examples of Fathers. And this I thinke sufficient to the reasonable and moderate spirites.

But to represse the raging of Woman's madnes, I will descend somwhat deeper in to the matter, and not feare to affirme, that as we find a contrarie spirit in all these moste wicked Women, that this day be exalted in to this tyrannouse authoritie, to the spirite that was in those godly matrons, so I feare not, I say, to affirme, that their condition is unlike, and that their end shalbe divers. In those matrones, we finde that the spirit of mercie, truthe, justice, and of humilitie did reigne. Under them we finde that God did shewe mercie to his people, delivering them from the tyrannie of strangiers, and frome the venom of idolatrie, by the handes and counsel of those women. But in these of our ages, we finde crueltie, falshed, pride, covetousnes, deceit, and oppression. In them we also finde the spirit of Jesabel and Athalia; under them we finde the simple people oppressed, the true religion extinguished, and the blood of Christes membres most cruellie shed. And, finallie, by their practises and deceit we finde auncient realmes and nations geven and betrayed in to the handes of strangiers, the titles and liberties of them taken frome the juste possessors. Which one thinge is an evident testimonie, howe unlike our mischevous Maryes be unto Debora, under whome were strangiers chased out of Israel, God so raising her up to be a mother and deliverer to his oppressed people. But (alas!) he hath raised up these Jesabelles to be the uttermoste of his plagues, the whiche man's unthankfulnes hath long deserved. But his secret and most just judgement shal nether excuse them, nether their mainteiners, because their counsels be divers.

Antithesis betwixt the former matrones and our Jesabelles.

NOTE.

But to prosecute my purpose, let such as list to defend these monstres in their tyrannie prove, first, That their Sovereine maistresses be like to Debora in godlines and pitie: and secondarilie, That the same successe doth folowe their tyrannie, which did folowe the extraordinarie regiment of that godlie matrone. Which thing, althogh they were able to do, (as they never shalbe, let them blowe til they burst,) yet shall her example profet them nothing at all. For they are never able to prove that ether Debora, or any other godlie woman, (having the commendation of the Holie Ghoste within the Scriptures,) hath usurped authoritie above any realme or nation by reason of their birth and blood; nether yet did they claime it by right or inheritance; but God by his singular priviledge, favor, and grace, exempted Debora from the common malediction geven to women in that behalf: and against nature he made her prudent in counsel, strong in courage, happie in regiment, and a blessed mother and deliverer to his people. The which he did, partlie to advaunce and notifie the power of his Majestie, aswell to his ennemies as to his owne people, in that, that he declared himself able to geve salvation and deliverance by meanes of the moste weake vesselles; and partlie he did it to confound and ashame all men of that age, because they had for the most part declined frome his true obedience. And therfore was the spirit of courage, regiment, and boldnes taken frome them for a time, to their confusion and further humiliation. But what maketh this for Mary and her match Philippe? One thing I wold aske of suche as depend upon the example of Debora, whether she was widowe or wife when she judged Israel, and when that God gave that notable victorie to his people under her? If they answer she was widowe, I wold lay against them the testimonie of the Holie Ghost, witnessing that she was wife to Lapidoth. And if they will shift and alledge that so she might be called, notwithstanding that her husband was dead: I urge them further, that they are not able to prove it to be any common phrase and maner of speache in the Scriptures, that a woman

Note.

No godlie Woman did ever claime authoritie over Man by reason of her birth and blood.

Why God sometymes worketh by extraordinarie meanes.

Judic. 4.

shall be called the wife of a dead man, except that there be some note added, wherbie it may be knowen that her husband
Luc. 2. is departed, as is witnessed of Anna. But in this place of the Judges, there is no note added that her husband shuld be dead,
Judic. 4. but rather the expressed contrarie. For the text saith, "In that time a woman named Debora, a prophetesse, wife to Lapidoth, judged Israel." The Holie Ghost plainlie speaketh, that what time she judged Israel, she was wife to Lapidoth?
NOTE. If she was wife, and if she ruled all alone in Israel, then I aske, Why did she not preferre her husband to that honor to be capitain, and to be leader to the host of the Lord? If any thinke that it was her husbande, the text proveth the contrarie; for it affirmeth that Barak, of the tribe of Nephtalie, was apointed to that office. If Barak had bene her husband, to what purpose shuld the Holie Ghost so diligentlie have noted the tribe, and an other name then was before expressed? yea, to what purpose shuld it be noted that she send and called him? Wherof I doubt not but that everie reasonable man doth consider, that this Barak was not her husband; and therof, likwise, it is evident, that her judgement or governement in Israel was no such usurped power as our Quenes unjustlie possesse this day; but that it was the spirit of prophecie which rested upon her, what time the multitude of the people had wroght wickedly in the eyes of the Lord; by the whiche spirit she did rebuke the idolatrie and iniquitie of the people, exhort them to repentance, and, in the end, did bring them this comfort, that God shuld deliver them from the bondage and
NOTE. thraldom of their ennemies. And this she might do, notwithstanding that an other did occupie the place of the Supreme Magistrate, (if any was in those dayes in Israel,) for so I finde
2 Reg. 22. did Hulda, the wife of Sallum,[1] in the dayes of Josias King of Juda, speake prophecie and comfort the King; and yet he resigned to her nether the sceptre nor the sword.

That this our interpretacion, how that Debora did judge in

[1] In our present version, Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum.

Israel, is the true meaning of the Holie Ghost, the pondering and weying of the historie shall manifestlie prove. When she sendeth for Barak, I pray you, in whose name geveth she him his charge? Doth she speake to him as Kinges and Princes use to speake to their subjectes in suche cases? No, but she speaketh as she that had a speciall revelation from God, whiche nether was knowen to Barak nor to the people, saying, "Hath not the Lord God of Israel commanded thee?" This is her preface, by the whiche she wold stirre up the dull senses of Barak and of the people, willing to persuade unto them, that the time was comen when God wold shewe him selfe their protector and deliverer; in which preface, she usurpeth to her self nether power nor authoritie. For she saith not, "I being thy Princesse, thy Maistresse, thy Sovereine Ladie and Quene, commande thee upon thine allegeance, and under pain of treason, to go and gather an armie." No, she spoileth her self of all power to commande, attributing that authoritie to God, of whom she had her revelation and certitude to appoint Barak capitain, whiche after appeareth more plainlie. For when she had declared to him the hole counsel of God, apointing unto him aswell the nombre of his souldiors, as the tribes owt of which they shuld be gathered; and when she had apointed the place of the batel, (whiche she coulde not have done but by especiall revelation of God,) and had assured him of victorie in the name of God, and yet that he fainted, and openlie refused to entre in to that journey, except that the Prophetesse wold accompanie him; she did use against him no external power, she did not threaten him with rebellion and death, but for assurance of his faint hart and weake conscience, being content to go with him, she pronounceth, That the glorie shulde not be his in that journey, but that the Lord shuld sell Sisera in to the hand of a woman. Such as have more pleasure in light then in darknes may clearlie perceive that Debora did usurpe no such power nor authoritie as our Quenes do this day claime; but that she was indued with the spirit of wisdome, of knowledge, and of

Debora commanded not as Princes use to commande.

the true feare of God, and by the same she judged the factes of the rest of the people. She rebuked their defection and idolatry, yea, and also did redresse to her power the injuries that were done by man to man. But all this, I say, she did by the spirituall swordc, that is, by the Worde of God, and not by any temporall regiment or authoritie whiche she did usurpe over Israel, in which, I suppose, at that time there was no laufull Magistrate, by the reason of their greate affliction; for so witnesseth the historie, saying, "And Ehud being dead, the Lord sold Israel in to the hand of Jabin, King of Canaan:" and he by Sisera his capitain afflicted Israel greatlie the space of twentie yeares. And Debora her self, in her song of thankes geving, confesseth, that before she did arise mother in Israel, and in the dayes of Jael, there was nothing but confusion and trouble. If any sticke to the terme, alledging that the Holie Ghost saith "that she judged Israel," let them understand, that nether doth the Ebrue word, nether yet the Latin, alwayes signifie Civile judgement, or the execution of the Temporall sword, but moste commonlie is taken in the sense whiche we have before expressed. For of Christ it is said, "He shal judge many nations," and that "He shall pronounce judgement to the Gentiles;" and yet it is evident that he was no minister of the temporal sword. God commandeth Jerusalem and Juda to judge betwixt him and his vineyarde, and yet he apointed not them all to be Civil magistrates. To Ezechiel it is said, "Shalt thou not judge them, Sonne of man?" And after, "Thou Sonne of man, shalt thou not judge? Shalt thou not judge, I say, the citie of blood?" And also, "Behold, I shall judge betwixt beast and beast." And such places, in great nombre, are to be founde throughout the hole Scriptures. And yet I trust no man wilbe so foolish as to thinke, that any of the Prophetes were apointed by God to be politike judges, or to punishe the sinnes of man by corporal punishment. No, the maner of their judgement is expressed in these words: "Declare to them all their abominations; and thou shalt say to

To judge is not alway understand of the civil regiment.

Isaie 2.
Isaie 42.
Mich. 4.
Isaie 5
Ezech. 20.
Ezech. 22.
Ezech. 34.
Ezech. 22.

them, Thus saith the Lorde God; A citie shedding blood in the middest of her, that her time may approche, and which hath made idoles against her selfe that she might be polluted; thou hast transgressed in the blood which thou hast shed; and thou art polluted in the idoles which thou hast made." Thus, I say, do the Prophetes of God judge, pronouncing the sentence of God against malefactors. And so I doubt not but Debora judged, what time Israel had declined from God, rebuking their defection, and exhorting them to repentance, without usurpation of any civill authoritie: And if the people gave unto her for a time any reverence or honour, as her godlines and happie counsel did well deserve, yet was it no such empire as our monstres claime; for which of her sonnes or nearest kinsmen left she ruler and judge in Israel after her? The Holie Ghost expresseth no such thing: wherof it is evident, that by her example God offreth no occasion to establish any regiment of Women above men, realmes, and nations. NOTE.

But now to the Second objection, in whiche Women require (as to them appeareth) nothing but equitie and justice, whilest they, and their patrones for them, require dominion and empire above men. For this is their question: Is it not lauful that women have their right and inheritance, like as the doughters of Zalphead[1] were commanded by the mouth of Moses, to have their portion of grounde in their tribe? An Answer to the Second Objection.

I answer, It is not onlie laufull that Women possesse their inheritance, but I affirme also that justice and equitie require that so they do. But therwith I adde that whiche gladlie they list not understand, that to beare rule or authoritie over man can never be right nor inheritance to Woman: for that can never be just inheritance to any person whiche God by his Word hath plainlie denied unto them: but to all Women hath God denied authoritie above man, as moste manifestlie is before declared: therfore to her it can never be inheritance. And thus must the advocates of our Ladies provide some better ex- What Woman wold not gladly heare.

[1] See *supra*, p. 402, note 1.

ample and stronger argument, for the lawe made in favour of the doughters of Zalphead will serve them nothing. And assuredlie greate wonder it is, that in so greate light of Goddes truthe, men list to grope and wander in darknes. For let them speak of conscience, if the petition of any of these forenamed women was to reigne over any one tribe, yea, or yet over any one man within Israel. Plain it is they did not, but onlie required that they might have a portion of ground amonge the men of their tribe, lest that the name of their father shuld be abolished: And this was granted unto them without respect had to any civil regiment. And what maketh this, I pray you, for the establishing of this monstruous empire of Women? The question is not, If women may not succede to possession, substance, patrimonie, or inheritance, such as fathers may leave to their children, for that I willinglie grant: But the question is, If women may succede to their fathers in offices, and chieflie to that office the executor wherof doth occupie the place and throne of God. And that I absolutelie denie, and feare not to say, that to place a woman in authoritie above a realme is to pollute and prophane the royall seate, the throne of justice, which oght to be the throne of God; and that to mainteine them in the same is nothing els but continuallie to rebell against God.

The doughters of Zalphead desired to reigne over no man in Israel.

Women may succede to inheritance but not to office.

One thing there is yet to be noted and observed in the lawe made concerning the inheritance of the doughters of Zalphead, to wit, That it was forbidden unto them to marie without their owne tribe, lest that such portion as fell to their lotte shuld be transferred frome one tribe to another, and so should the tribe of Manasses be defrauded and spoiled of their just inheritance by their occasion. For avoiding of which, it was commanded by Moses that they shuld marie in the familie or householde of the tribe and kindred of their father. Wonder it is, that the advocates and patrones of the right of our Ladies did not consider and ponder this lawe, before that they counseled the blinde

Num 36.

Our Patrones for Women do not marke this caution.

Princes and unworthie Nobles of their countries to betray the liberties therof in to the handes of strangiers. England, for satisfying of the inordinat appetites of that cruell monstre Marie, (unworthie, by reason of her bloodie tyrannie, of the name of a woman,) betrayed, alas! to the proude Spaniarde: and Scotland, by the rashe madnes of foolish Governers, and by the practises of a craftie Dame, resigned likewise, under title of mariage, in to the power of France. Doth such translation of realmes and nations please the justice of God? or is the possession, by such means obteined, lauful in his sight? Assured I am that it is not. No other wise, I say, then is that possession wherunto theves, murtherers, tyrannes, and oppressors do attein by theft, murther, tyrannie, violence, deceit, and oppression, whiche God of his secrete (but yet most just) judgement doth often permit for punishment, aswel of the sufferers as of the violent oppressors, but doth never approve the same as laufull and godlie. For if he wold not permit that the inheritance of the children of Israel shuld passe frome one tribe to an other by the mariage of any doughter, notwithstanding that they were all one people, all spake one tonge, all were descended of one father, and all did professe one God and one religion: if yet, I say, God wold not suffer that the commoditie and usuall frute which might be gathered of the portion of grounde limited and assigned to one tribe shulde passe to an other, will he suffer that the liberties, lawes, commodities, and frutes of hole realmes and nations be geven in to the power and distribution of others by the reason of mariage; and in the powers of suche as besides that they be of a strange tonge, of strange maners and lawes, they are also ignorant of God, ennemies to his truth, deniers of Christ Jesus, persecutors of his true membres, and haters of all vertue? As the odious nation of Spaniardes doth manifestlie declare, who for very despit which they do beare against Christe Jesus, whome their forefathers did crucifie, (for Jewes they are, as histories do witnesse, and they themselves confesse,) do this day make

Realmes gotten by practises are no juste possession.

Nota.

The Spaniardes are Jewes, and they bragge that Marie of England is of the roote of Jesse.

plaine warre against all true professors of his holie Gospell. And howe blindlie and outragiouslie the Frenche King and his pestilent Prelates do fight against the veritie of God, the flaming fires which lick up the innocent blood of Christes membres do witnesse,[1] and by his cruel edictes[2] is notified and proclaimed. And yet to these two cruell tyrannes (to France and Spain I meane) is the right and possession of England and Scotland apointed. But just or laufull shall that possession never be, till God do chaunge the statute of his former lawe, whiche he will not do for the pleasure of man. For he hath not created the earth to satisfie the ambition of two or three tyrannes, but for the universall seed of Adam, and hath apointed and defined the boundes of their habitation, to diverse nations assigning divers countries, as He him selfe confesseth, speaking to Israel in these wordes: "You shal passe by the boundes and limites of your bretheren, the sonnes of Esau, who dwell in Mount Seir. They shall feare you; but take diligent hede that ye shewe not your selves cruell against them; for I will geve you no part of their land; no, not the bredth of a foote; for Mount Seir I have geven to Esau to be possessed." And the same he doth witnesse of the sones of Lot, to whom he had geven Arre to be possessed. And Moses plainlie affirmeth, that when the Almightie did distribute and divide possessions to the Gentiles, and when he did disperse and scatter the sonnes of men, that then he did apoint the limites and boundes of peoples, for the nomber of the sonnes of Israel: Wherof it is plain, that God hath not exposed the earth in pray to tyrannes, making all

Note the Law which he hath proclaimed in France against such as he termeth Lutherians.

Act. 17.

Deuter. 2.

Deut. 32.

Note.

[1] See *supra*, p. 289.

[2] In the year 1551, the edict of Henry the Second, known as the Edict of Châteaubriand, contained forty-six articles, denouncing severe punishment on the Lutherans, with the view of suppressing heresy, and overcoming the wilfulness and obstinacy "of this unhappy sect." But this and similar edicts had no such effect; and in May 1553, five persons were burned at Lyon, and five others in the course of the same year, besides such as suffered at Paris, Toulouse, and other parts of France. At this period, every individual judge "se plaisoit," in the words of Sismondi, "à inventer pour les supplicies des tourmens plus atroces."–(Histoire des Français, tome xvii. pp. 449, 515.)

thing laufull which by violence and murther they may possesse; but that he hath apointed to every severall nation a severall possession, willing them to stand content (as nature did teache an Ethnik to affirme) with that portion whiche by lotte and just meanes they had enjoyed. For what causes God permitteth this his distribution to be troubled, and the realmes of auncient nations to be possessed of strangiers, I delay at this time to intreate. Onelie this I have recited, to geve the worlde to understand that the reigne, empire, and authoritie of Women hath no grounde within Goddes Scriptures. Yea, that realmes or provinces possessed by their mariage is nothing but unjust conquest; for so litle doth the lawe made for the doughters of Zalphead helpe the cause of your Quenes, that utterlie it fighteth against them, both damning their authoritie and fact. But now to the Third Objection.

Cicero Offic. lib. 1.

Realmes gotten by mariage is unjust conquest.

The Consent, say they, of realmes and lawes pronounced and admitted in this behalfe, long consuetude and custome, together with the felicitie of some Women in their empires, have established their Authoritie. To whome I answer, that nether may the tyrannie of princes, nether the foolishnes of people, nether wicked lawes made against God, nether yet the felicitie that in this earthe may herof insue, make that thing laufull which he by his Word hath manifestlie condemned. For if the approbation of princes and people, and lawes made by men, or the consent of realmes, may establishe any thing against God and his Word, then shuld idolatrie be preferred to the true religion; for mo[1] realmes and nations, mo lawes and decrees published by Emperours with common consent of their counsels, have established the one then have approved the other: And yet I thinke that no man of sounde judgement will therfore justifie and defend idolatrie; no more ought any man to mainteine this odious empire of Women, althogh that it were approved of all men by their lawes. For the same God, that in plain wordes forbiddeth idolatrie, doth also forbidde the autho-

Answer to the Third Objection.

[1] "Mo," more.

ritie of women over man; as the wordes of Saint Paule before rehearsed do plainly teach us. And therfore, whether women be deposed from that unjust Authoritie, (have they never usurped it so long,) or if all such honor be denied unto them, I feare not to affirme that they are nether defrauded of right nor inheritance. For to Woman can that honor never be due nor laufull (muche lesse inheritance) whiche God hath so manifestlie denied unto them.

Women may and ought to be deposed from Authoritie.

I am not ignorant that the subtill wittes of carnall men (which can never be broght under the obedience of Goddes simple preceptes) to maintein this monstruous empire have yet two vaine shiftes. First, they alledge, that albeit Women may not absolutelie reigne by themselves, because they may nether sit in judgement, nether pronounce sentence, nether execute any publike office, yet may they do all such thinges by their lieutenantes, deputies, and judges substitute. Secondarilie, say they, a Woman borne to rule over any realme may chose her a husband, and to him she may transfer and geve her authoritie and right. To both I answer in fewe wordes. First, That frome a corrupt and venomed fountein can spring no holsome water. Secondarilie, That no person hath power to geve the thing which doth not justlie appertein to them selves: But the authoritie of a woman is a corrupted fountein, and therfore from her can never spring any lauful officer. She is not borne to rule over men, and therfore she can apointe none by her gift, nor by her power (which she hath not), to the place of a laufull Magistrat; and therfore, who soever receiveth of a woman office or authoritie, are adulterous and bastard officers before God. This may appeare straunge at the first affirmation, but if we will be as indifferent and equall in the cause of God as that we can be in the cause of man, the reason shall sodeinlie appeare. The case supposed, that a tyranne by conspiracie usurped the royall seat and dignitie of a King, and in the same did so establish him selfe, that he apointed officers, and did what him list for a time; and in this meane time the

The Fourth Objection.

Woman can make no laufull officer.

Let England and Scotland take hede.

native King made streit inhibition to all his subjects, that none shuld adhere to this traitor, nether yet receive any dignitie of him; yet, neverthelesse, they wold honor the same traitor as King, and become his officers in all affaires of the realme. If after the native Prince did recover his just honor and possession, shuld he repute or esteme any man of the traitor's apointment for a laufull Magistrate, or for his frende and true subject? Or shuld he not rather with one sentence condemne the head with the membres? And if so he shuld do, who were able to accuse him of rigor, much lesse to condemne his sentence of injustice? And dare we denie the same power to God in the like case? For that Woman reigneth above man, she hath obteined it by treason and conspiracie committed against God. How can it be then, that she, being criminall and giltie of treason against God committed, can apoint any officer pleasing in his sight? It is a thing impossible. Wherfore, let men that receive of women authoritie, honor, or office, be most assuredly persuaded, that in so mainteining that usurped power, they declare themselves ennemies to God. If any thinke, that because the Realme and Estates therof have geven their consentes to a woman, and have established her and her authoritie, that therfore it is laufull and acceptable before God, let the same men remembre what I have said before, to wit, that God can not approve the doing nor consent of any multitude, concluding any thing against his worde and ordinance; and therfore they must have a more assured defense against the wrath of God then the approbation and consent of a blinded multitude, or elles they shall not be able to stand in the presence of the consuming fire: That is, they must acknowledge that the Regiment of a Woman is a thing most odious in the presence of God; they must refuse to be her officers, because she is a traitoresse and rebell against God; and finallie, they must studie to represse her inordinate pride and tyrannie to the uttermost of their power.

Woman in authoritie is rebel against God.

The same is the dutie of the Nobilitie and Estates, by

What the Nobilitie ought to do in this behalf.

whose blindnes a Woman is promoted. First, in so farre as they have moste haynouslie offended against God, placing in authoritie suche as God by his Worde hath removed frome the same, unfeinedly they oght to call for mercie; and, being admonished of their error and damnable fact, in signe and token of true repentance, with common consent, they oght to retreate that which unadvisedlie and by ignorance they have pronounced; and oght, without further delay, to remove from authority all such persones as by usurpation, violence, or tyrannie, do possesse the same. For so did Israel and Juda after they had revolted from David, and Juda alone in the dayes of Athalia. For after that she, by murthering her sonnes children, had obteined the empire over the land, and had most unhappelie reigned in Juda six years, Jehoiada the High priest called together the capitaines and chief rulers of the people, and shewing to them the Kinges sonne Joas, did binde them by an othe to depose that wicked woman, and to promote the King to his royall seat; which they faithfullie did, killing at his commandement not onlie that cruell and mischevous woman, but also the people did destroie the temple of Baal, break his altars and images, and kill Mathan,[1] Baales High priest, before his altars.

2 Reg. 11.

Marke this fact, for it agreth with Goddes Lawe pronounced.

The same is the dutie aswell of the Estates as of the People that hath bene blinded. First, They oght to remove frome honor and authoritie that monstre in nature: So call I a woman cled in the habit of man, yea, a woman against nature reigning above man. Secondarilie, If any presume to defende that impietie, they oght not to feare first to pronounce, and then after to execute against them the sentence of deathe. If any man be affraid to violat the oth of obedience which they have made to suche monstres, let them be most assuredly persuaded, that as the beginning of their othes, proceding from ignorance, was sinne, so is the obstinate purpose to kepe the same nothing but plaine rebellion against God. But of

[1] In our present version, Mattan.

this mater in THE SECOND BLAST, God willing, we shall speake more at large.[1]

And nowe, to put an end to THE FIRST BLAST: Seing that by the ordre of Nature; by the maledictiun and curse pronounced against Woman, by the mouth of S. Paule, the interpreter of Goddes sentence; by the example of that Common welth in whiche God by his Word planted ordre and policie; and finallie, by the judgement of the most godlie writers, God hath dejected Woman frome rule, dominion, empire, and authoritie above man: Moreover, seing that nether the example of Debora, nether the lawe made for the doughters of Zalphead, nether yet the foolishe consent of an ignorant multitude, be able to justifie that whiche God so plainlie hath condemned; let all men take An Admoni hede what quarell and cause frome hencefurthe they do defend. If God raise up any noble harte to vendicat the libertie of his Countrie, and to suppresse the monstruous empire of Women, let all suche as shal presume to defend them in the same moste certeinlie knowe, that in so doing they lift their hand against God, and that one day they shall finde his power to fight against their foolishnes. Let not the faithfull, godlie, and valiant hartes of Christes souldiours be utterlie discouraged, nether yet let the tyrannes rejoise, albeit for a time they triumphe against such as studie to represse their tyrannie, and to remove them from unjust authoritie. For the causes [are known to God] alone[2] why he suffereth the souldiours to fail in batel, whome neverthelesse he commandeth to fight. As sometimes did Israel fighting against Benjamin. The cause of the Israelites was most just; for it was to punishe that horrible abomination of those sonnes of Belial, abusing the Levite's Judic. 20. wife, whome the Benjamites did defend; and they had Goddes precept to assure them of well-doing, for he did not onelie commande them to fight, but also apointed Juda to be their leader

[1] At the end of his "Appellation," Knox has given "the Propositions" which he purposed to entreat in his Second Blast. See *infra*.

[2] "The causes alone:" The words within brackets are supplied, as necessary to render the sentence intelligible.

and capitain; and yet fell they twise in plain batel[1] against those most wicked adulterers.

Why God permitteth sometimes his owne souldiers to fall in batel.

The secret cause of this, I say, is known to God alone. But by his evident Scriptures we may assuredly gather, that by such means doth his wisdome sometimes beat downe the pride of the flesh, (for the Israelites at the firste trusted in their multitude, power, and strength,) and sometimes by such overthrowes he will punishe the offenses of his owne children, and bring them to the unfeined knowledge of the same, before he will geve them victorie against the manifest contemners, whom he hath apointed neverthelesse to uttermost perdition; as the end of that batel did witnesse. For althogh with greate murther the children of Israel did twise fall before the Benjamites, yet after they had wept before the Lorde, after they had fasted and made sacrifice in signe of their unfeined repentance, they so prevailed against that proude tribe of Benjamin, that after twenty-five thousande strong men of warre were killed in batel, they destroyed man, woman, childe, and beaste, aswell in the fieldes as in the cities, whiche all were burned with fier: so that onelie of that hole tribe remained six hundreth men, who fled to the wildernes, where they remained foure monethes, and so were saved.

Judic. 20.

Note.

The same God who did execute this grevous punishment, even by the handes of those whom he suffred twise to be overcomen in batel, doth this day retein his power and justice. Cursed Jesabel of England, with the pestilent and detestable generation of Papistes, make no litle bragge and boast, that they have triumphed not only against Wyet,[2] but also against

[1] "Plain batel," the field of battle.

[2] Sir Thomas Wyatt, son of the distinguished statesman and poet of the same name, during the reign of Henry the Eighth. After the untimely death of Edward the Sixth, having joined in the unsuccessful effort to place the Lady Jane Grey on the throne, he was condemned for high treason, and was executed on the 11th of April 1554.

Goodman in his work on Obedience, in order to show "How dangerous it is to judge the cause by the success," refers, like Knox, to the case of the Israelites when fighting with the tribe

all such as have entreprised any thing against them or their procedinges. But let her and them consider, that yet they have not prevailed against God: his throne is more high then that the length of their hornes be able to reache. And let them further consider, that in the beginning of this their bloodie reigne, the harvest of their iniquitie was not comen to full maturitie and ripenes: No! it was so grene, so secret I meane, so covered, and so hid with hypocrisie, that some men (even the servantes of God) thoght it not impossible but that wolves might be changed in to lambes, and also that the vipere might remove her natural venom. But God, who doth revele in his time apointed the secretes of hartes, and that will have his judgementes justified even by the verie wicked, hath now geven open testimonie of her and their beastlie crueltie. For man and woman, learned and unlearned, nobles and men of baser sorte, aged fathers and tendre damiselles, and, finallie, the bones of the dead, aswell women as men, have tasted of their tyrannie. So that now, not onlie the blood of Father Latimer, of the milde man of God the Bishop of Cantorburie,[1] of learned and discrete Ridley, of innocent Ladie Jane Dudley,[2] and many godly and worthie Preachers that can not be forgotten, such as fier hath consumed, and the sworde of tyrannie

of Benjamin; and in mentioning Wyatt, he enters into a justification of his attempt. In answer to the question, "What then moved him to this dangerous enterprise?" he says, "Verely, the zeale of God's truth, and the pitie that he had to his Countrie for the miseries he sawe to approche by the usurped power of ungodly Jesabell, and her merciles Papistes, the souldiers of Antichryst!" He afterwards exclaims, "O noble Wyatt, thou art now with God, and those worthy men that died for that enterprise! Happy art thou, and they which art placed in your everlasting inheritance, and freed from the miseries of such as were your enemies in so just and lawfull a cause!—For what can your Nobles or Counsellers saye for yourselves at that daye when God shall call yow to accompt (ye knowe not how sone,) which have permitted Wyatt, and with him the whole Church and Commonwelth of England, to fall in to the hands of God's enemies, and would not reskewe him, some of you having then in your handes sufficient power," &c. (P. 203.)

[1] Archbishop Cranmer.

[2] Better known as the Lady Jane Grey. She enjoyed the Royal dignity only thirteen days.

most unjustlie hath shed, doth call for vengeance in the eares of the Lord God of hostes; but also the sobbes and teares of the poore oppressed, the groninges of the Angeles the watchmen of the Lord, yea, and everie earthlie creature abused by their tyrannie, do continuallie crie and call for the hastie execution of the same. I feare not to say, that the day of vengeance, whiche shall apprehend that horrible monstre Jesabel of England, and such as maintein her monstruous crueltie, is alredie apointed in the counsel of the Eternall: and I verelie beleve, that it is so nigh, that she shall not reigne so long in tyrannie as hitherto she hath done,[1] when God shall declare him selfe to be her ennemie, when he shall poure furth contempt upon her according to her crueltie, and shal kindle the hartes of such as somtimes did favor her with deadly hatred against her, that they may execute his judgementes. And therefore let such as assist her, take hede what they do; for assuredlie her empire and reigne is a wall without foundation: I meane the same of the Authoritie of all Women. It hath bene underpropped this blind time that is past, with the foolishnes of people, and with the wicked lawes of ignorant and tyrannous Princes. But the fier of Goddes Worde is alredie laid to those rotten proppes, (I include the Pope's lawe with the rest,) and presentlie they burn, albeit we espie not the flame. When they are consumed, (as shortlie they will be, for stuble and drie timbre can not long indure the fier,) that rotten wall, the usurped and unjust empire of Women, shall fall by itself in despit of all man,[2] to the destruction of so manie as shall labor to uphold it. And therfore let all man be advertised, for THE TRUMPET HATH ONES BLOWEN.[3]

Authoritie Women is l without iation.

Praise God, ye that feare him.

[1] This prediction of Knox as to the speedy termination of Queen Mary's reign, whom he here styles Jesabel of England, proved correct. She died in the sixth year of her reign, on the 17th of November 1558, or within seven or eight months of the publication of "The First Blast."

[2] "All man," every man.

[3] "Ones blowen," once blown, blown for the first time.

Having recently obtained a copy of Frarin's "Oratio," I find that the passages quoted at page 360–1 from Fouler's translation are in substance contained in the original work; and that he also quotes "The First Blast" as the work of Goodman. Anthony Wood, at a later date, falls into a similar mistake, in his account of Goodman, Athenæ Oxon., vol. i. p. 722. In a note to the edition by Dr Bliss of that most important work, this mistake is corrected by a reference to Strype.

The title-page and the passages in Frarin's work referred to, read as follows:—"ORATIO PETRI FRARINI Antverpiensis, Artium Magistri, et V. I. Baccalaurei, Quod male, reformandæ religionis nomine, arma sumpserunt Sectarij nostri temporis. Habita in Scholis Artium, Louanij, 19. Calendas Ianuarij. Anno 1565. Lovanii, apud Joannem Foulerum, M.D.LXVI." 8vo.

"Quid de Angliæ proditoribus Evangelicis dicam, qui numeroso exercitu, contra pientissimam illam suam Reginam Mariam, rarum nostri sæculi decus et exemplum, collecto, Regiam sagittis et jaculis petierunt? Omitto illud, quod nobilissima Scotiæ Regina, summo cum capitis sui periculo, suis diu civibus servivit." (Fol. 33. a.)

"Eodem plane spiritu Goodmannus quidam, natione Anglus, acerrimus hujus novi Evangelii Buccinator, optimam suam Dominam Illustriss. Angliæ Reginam Mariam exosus, non ante multos annos libellum edidit monstrosum vere, contra Monstrosum, ut asserebat, Regimen Mulierum. Proserpinam illam nobiliss. et plusquam pientissimam fœminam appellabat impudens scurra, proditor improbissimus: tum unius odio omnes ad unam mulieres maxima contumelia, turpissimis verbis, sceleratissimis conviciis insectatur: Nulli fas esse mulierum contendit cum imperio esse aut in luce Reip. versari: Monstro simile esse si fœminæ parere cogantur viri, publicæque administrationis summam mulieres regere permittantur. Si odio mulierum, etc." (Fol. 36. a.)

In the margin to the last quotation are the words, GOODMAN CONT. MONSTR. REGIM. MULIE."

Dr Matthew Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter to Sir Nicholas Bacon, 1st March 1558–9, expresses his abhorrence of the doctrines contained in the First Blast and in Goodman's treatise, in the following allusion to these works: "At my last being at London, I heard and saw books printed, which be spread abroad, whose authors be Ministers of good estimation: the doctrine of the one [Knox] is to prove, that a lady Woman cannot be, by God's Word, a governor in a Christian realm. And in another

book going abroad, is matter set out to prove, that it is lawful for every private subject to kill his Sovereign, *ferro, veneno, quocumque modo*, if he think him to be a tyrant in his conscience, yea, and worthy to have a reward for his attempt: *exhorrui cum ista legerem*. If such principles be spread into men's heads," &c.—(Correspondence of Abp. Parker, p. 60, Lond. 1853, 8vo.)

It may also be noticed, that the works of Knox, Goodman, and Gilby are included in "The Judgment and Decree of the University of Oxford, passt in their Convocation held on July 21, 1683, against certain Pernicious Books and Damnable Doctrines destructive to the Sacred persons of Princes, their State and Government, and of all Human Society. Printed at the Theater, 1683." Folio.

A LETTER

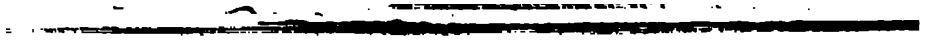
TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER,

REGENT OF SCOTLAND:

AUGMENTED AND EXPLAINED

BY THE AUTHOR.

M.D.LVIII.



A PREVIOUS part of this volume contains the Letter which, during the month of May 1556, Knox, then residing in Scotland, addressed to Mary of Guise, Queen Dowager. In the following pages,[1] and also in his History of the Reformation,[2] after stating that it was presented to her Majesty by Alexander Earl of Glencairne, he says, "which Letter, when she had read, within a day or two she delivered it to that proud prelate Betoun, Bishop of Glasgow, and said in mockery, 'Please you, my Lord, to read a Pasquil.' Which words coming to the ears of the said John, were the occasion that to his Letter he made his Additions, as yet may be seen." It is clear that Knox felt very indignant at this remark, and expressed his conviction that the Queen Dowager had not read the Letter with the attention which it deserved; for, as his Biographer remarks, it is written in a more courtly style than any of his similar productions, in the hope of influencing her to countenance the great object of the Protestant Reformers. In the "Additions," he addresses her in plainer terms; and a few years later, after the Queen's death, he somewhat complacently adds: "As concerning the threatenings pronounced against her own person, and the principal of her friends, let their very flatterers see what has failed of all that he has written."[3] The Letter, thus augmented, was printed at Geneva, probably about July 1558. It is now carefully reprinted from that edition; as the Additions would not be intelligible except in connection with the Letter itself.

When James the Sixth succeeded to the throne of England, his views of Church Government and Discipline underwent a decided change. Having occasionally been subjected to the

[1] See page 457. [2] Vol. i. p. 252. [3] Ib. p. 252.

stern public rebukes of the Presbyterian clergy, it was natural that he should receive with complacency the homage which the English Prelates rendered him as Head of the Church. In the celebrated Conference at Hampton Court, in January 1604, he introduced a reference to Knox's Letter: the passage is much too characteristic to be overlooked in this place.

Dr Reynolds, a most learned divine, who argued on the side of the Puritans, having spoken of the King's Supremacy, and in answer to a question, having conceded the point:—"Why then, saith his Majesty, I will tell you a tale. After that the religion restored by King Edward the Sixth was soone overthrown, by the succession of Queene Mary here in England, we in Scotland felt the effect of it. Whereupon Master Knoxe writes to the Queene Regent, (of whome without flattery, I may say, that she was a vertuous and moderate Lady,) telling her that she was Supreme Head of the Church, and charged her, as she would aunswere it before God's tribunall, to take care of Christ his Evangil, and of suppressing the Popish prelates, who withstoode the same. But how long, trow yee, did this continue? Even so long, till by her authority the Popish bishops were repressed, hee himselfe and his adherentes were brought in, and well setled, and by these means made strong enough to undertake the matters of Reformation themselves. Then, loe they beganne to make smal account of her Supremacy, nor would longer rest upon her authority, but tooke the cause into their owne hand, and according to that more light wherwith they were illuminated, made a further Reformation of religion. How they used that poore Lady my Mother is not unknowne, and with griefe I may remember it: who, because shee had not beene otherwise instructed, did desire only a private chappell, wherin to serve God after her manner, with some few selected persons; but her Supremacy was not sufficient to obtaine it at their handes. And how they dealt with me in my Minority you all know; it was not done secretly, and thogh I would, I cannot conceale

it. I will apply it thus:" And then putting his hand to his hat, his Majestie saide, "My Lordes the Bishops, I may thanke you that these men doe thus plead for my Supremacy. They think they cannot make their party good against you but by appealing unto it, as if you, or some that adhere unto you, were not well affected towardes it. But if once you were out and they in place, I know what would become of my Supremacy. No Bishop, no King, as before I said. Neither doe I thus speak at randon without grounde, for I have observed since my comming into England, that some preachers before me can be content to pray for James, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the Faith; but as for Supreme Governour in all causes, and over all persons (aswell ecclesiasticall as civill), they passe that over with silence; and what cut they have beene of I after learned."[1]

In reply to "this tale," it may be remarked, that on no occasion has Knox, or his brethren, styled either the Queen Regent, or any of her successors, Supreme Head of the Church. When addressing her as a person "indued with wisdom and graces singular," he also speaks, in 1556, of her "happy governance," and of her "moderation and clemency." But while recognising her regal title, as the head of the Civil authority, to whom the maintenance of the true religion was committed, he expressly cautions her, that should she hinder the progress of the truth, "this pre-eminence whereon ye are placed shall be your dejection to torment and pain everlasting." He admits, under existing circumstances, "your Grace may not hastily abolish superstition, and remove from offices unprofitable pastors;" but he adds, that "the negligence of Bishops shall no less be required of the hands of Magistrates, than shall the

[1] "The Summe and Substance of the Conference, which it pleased his Excellent Majestie to have with the Lords, Bishops, and other of his Clergie, (at which the most of the Lordes of the Councell were present), in his Majesties Privy-Chamber, at Hampton Court, Ianuary 14. 1603, [1603–4.] Contracted by William Barlow, Doctor of Divinity, and Deane of Chester," p. 80–82, Lond. 1604, 4to.

oppression of false Judges." . . . . "If your Grace pretend to reign with Christ Jesus, then it behoveth you to take care of his true religion, which this day within your realm is so deformed, that no part of Christ's ordinances remain in their first strength and purity." It is scarcely necessary to remark, that the King's assertion of the Popish Bishops in Scotland having been suppressed by the Queen Regent, is equally unfounded. This was a measure which, in consequence of the Queen's dissimulation, required to be taken in hand, and which was effected by the Reformers themselves in opposition to her authority.

THE COPIE

OF A LETTRE DE-liuered to the ladie Marie, Regent of Scotland, frome Iohn Knox mi-niſter of Goddes worde, in the yeare of our Lord 1556, and nowe augmented and explaned by the Author, in the yeare of our Lord 1558.

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TO THE EXCELLENT LADIE MARIE DOWAGIER, REGENT OF SCOTLAND.

THE cause moving me, Right Honorable, to present this my Supplication unto your Grace, enlarged and in some places explaned, (which being in the Realme of Scotland, in the moneth of Maie 1556, I caused to be presented to your Grace) is the incredible rage of such as beare the title of Bishoppes, who against all justice and equitie have pronounced against me a most cruell Sentence, condemning my bodie to fier, my soule to damnation, and all doctrine taught by me to be false, deceivable, and hereticall. If this injury did tende to me alone, having the testimonie of a good conscience, with silence I could passe the mater, being assured that such as they curse and expell their synagoges for such causes, shall God blesse, and Christ Jesus receive in his eternal societie. But considering that this their blasphemie is vomited furth against the eternall truthe of Christes Evangile, (wherof it hath pleased the greate mercie of God to make me a minister), I can not cease to notifie aswell to your Grace as unto them, that so litle I am affrayed of their tyrannicall and surmised Sentence, that in place of the picture[1] (if God impede not my purpose) they shall have the bodie to justifie that doctrine which they (members of Satan) blasphemouslie do condemne. Advertising your Grace in the meane time, that from them, their sentence, and tyrannie, and from all those that list mainteine them in the same, I do Appeale to a laufull and generall Counsell,[2] besechinge your

[1] See *infra*, p. 463.

[2] See also the commencement of his "Appellation," which immediately follows this Letter.

Grace to take in good part that I call you for witnesse, that I have required the libertie of tonge, and my cause to be hard before your Grace and the bodie of that realme, before that any such processe was laid against me, as this my Lettre directed to your Grace doth testifie.

THE BEGINNING OF THE LETTRE.

THE eternall providence of the same God, who hath appointed his chosen children to fight in this transitorie and wretched life a batell strong and difficile, hath also appointed their final victorie, by a mervelous fashion; and the maner of their preservation, in their batell, more mervelous. Their victorie standeth not in resisting, but in suffering; as our Sovereine Maister pronounceth to his Disciples, that in their pacience shuld they possesse their soules. And the same forsawe the Prophete Isaie, when that he painteth furth all other batell to be with violence, tumult, and blood shedding, but the victorie of Goddes people to be in quietnes, silence, and hope; meanyng, that all others that obtein victorie do inforce themselves to resist their adversaries, to shed blood, and to murther. But so do not the elect of God, but all thinges they sustein at the commandement of Him who hath appointed theim to suffer, being most assuredlie persuaded, that then onlie they triumphe, when all men judge them oppressed. For in the crosso of Christ allwaies is included a secrete and hid victorie, never well knowen till the sufferer appeare all togither to be (as it were) exterminat. For then onlie did the blood of Abell cry to God, when proude Cain judged all memorie of his brother to have bene extinguished. And so I say their victorie is mervelous. And howe that they can be proserved, and not broght to utter confusion, the eye of man perceiveth not. But He, whose power is infinite, by secret and hid motions, toucheth the hartes of such as, to mannes judgement, have power to destroye them, of verie pitie and compassion to save his people; as that He did the

Gene 3. Mat. 10. Act. 14.

Matth. 5. Joh. 14, 16.

Isaie 9.

In the Crosse of Christ is victorie hid.

Isiae 40, 41, 51.

Exod. 2. hartes of the Egyptian midwifes, to preserve the men children of the Israelites, when precept was given by Pharao of their destruction: The hart of Pharao's daughter lykewise to pitie Moses in his yong infancie, exposed to the danger of the waters:
4 Reg. 25. Jerem. 52. The hart of Nabuchadnezer to preserve the captives alive, and liberallie to norish the children that were found apt to lettres:
Esdr 1. And finallie the hart of Cyrus, to set at libertie the people of
Note. God, after long bondage and thraldome. And thus doth the invisible power and love of God manifeste it selfe towardes his elect frome time to time, for two causes speciallie: First, to comfort his weake warriours in their manifold tentations, letting them understand that he is able to compell such as somtimes were ennemies to his people, to fight in their cause, and to promote their deliverance. And secondarilie, to give a testimonie of his favour to them, that by all apparance did live
Ephes. 2. before (as S. Paule speaketh) wanting God in the worlde, as strangiers frome the common welth of Israel, and without the leage of his mercifull promise and free grace made to his church. For who could have affirmed, that any of these personnes afore named had bene of that nature and clemencie, before occasions were offred unto them? But the workes of mercie shewed to the afflicted have left to us assurance that God used them as vessels of his honour. For pitie and mercie shewed to Christes afflicted flock, as they never lacked reward temporall, so if they be continued, and be not changed in to crueltie, are assured signes and seales of everlasting mercie to be received from God, who by his Holie Spirit moveth their hartes to shew mercie to the people of God oppressed and afflicted.

ADDITION.

This preface I used, to give your Grace occasion more depelie to consider what hath bene the condition of Christes membres from the beginnyng, that in so doing, ye might se that it is no newe thing that the saintes of God be oppressed in the world;

that ye, moved by earnest contemplation of the same, might also studie rather to save them from murther, (althogh by the wicked counsels of many ye were provoked to the contrary), than to be a sclave to Satan, obeying his servantes your Clergie, whose furie is bent against God and his veritie. But this will after followe in our Lettre, which thus procedeth.

LETTRE.

Your Grace perchance doth wonder to what purpose these thinges be recited, and I in verie dede can not wonder ynough that occasion is offred to me, a worme most wretched, to recite the same at this present. For I have looked rather for the sentence of death, then to have written to your Grace in these last and most wicked daies, in which Satan so blindeth the hartes of many, that innocentes are damned, their cause never tryed.

ADDITION.

Hereof ye can not be ignorant. For besides these whom ye heare from time to time most cruelly to be murthered in France, Italie, Spayn, Flanders, and now of late yeares besides you in England; for no cause, but that they professe Christ Jesus to be the onlie Saviour of the world, the onlie Mediatour betwixt God and man, the onlie sacrifice acceptable for the synnes of all faithfull; and finallie, the onlie head to his Churche. Besides these, I say, (of whome ye heare the brute[1]), ye have bene witnesse, that some, within the Realme of Scotland, for the same cause most cruelly have bene murthered, whose cause was never hard with indifferencie.[2] But murtherers occupying the Seat of Justice have shed the blood of Christes true witnesses; which albeit did then appeare to be consumed away with fier, yet is it recent in the presence of Hym for whose cause they did suffer, and ceaseth not to call for vengeance, with the blood of Abell, to fall not onlie upon such as were authors of that murther

The causes why the saintes of God be this day persecuted. 1 Jo. 1, 2. Hebr. 6 & 10. Ephes. 5.

[1] "Brute," report. [2] "Indifferencie," impartiality

but also upon all those that maintein those tyrannes in their tyranny, or that do consent to their beastlie crueltie. Take not this as the affirmation of any man, but heare and consider

Matth 23. the voice of the Sonne of God: "Fulfill (saieth he) the measure of your fathers, that all the blood which hath bene shed, since the blood of Abel the just, till the blood of Zacharie, &c., may come upon this generation." Herebie it is evident that the murtherers of our time, aswel as in the time of Christ, are gyltie of all blood that hath bene shed from the begynning. Fearfull, I grant, is the sentence, yet is it most equall and juste.

Who soever sheddeth the blood of one of Christes membres for his names sake, consenteth to the blood of all that have suffred since the begynning.

For whosoever sheddeth the blood of any one of Christ Jesus his membres, for professing of his truth, consenteth to all the murther which hath ben made since the begynning of the world for that cause. So that as there is one communion of all Goddes elect, of whom everie membre is participant of the hole justice of Christ; so is there a communion amonge the reprobat, by which everie one of the serpentes seed are criminall and

Nota. gyltie of all iniquitie which the hole bodie committeth: for because they are all togither conjured against Christ Jesus, and against his eternall veritie, everie one serving Satan, the Prince of this world, in their rank, age, degree, and estat; the murtherers of their brethren, whiche this day live, are

Gene 4. gyltie with Cain of the blood of Abel. The kinges and princes, whiche by power oppresse the people of God, and will not suffer that the people trulie worshippe God, as he hath commanded, but will retein them in Egipt, are brethren and companyons to Pharao. The prelates and priestes, whose horrible iniquities and insolent life have infected all realmes where they reigne,

Math 23. have with their fathers, the old Pharisies, taken away the key of knowlege, and have shut up the kingdome of heaven before men, so that nether they themselves will enter, nether yet will they suffer others to enter in the same. And the multitude, blynded, some by ignorance, some by feare, and by insatiable appetite of their parte of the spoyle (for Christ being crucified, the souldiours parted amongest them his garmentes), are con-

jured to defende those murtherers, proude pestilent prelates, against Christ Jesus, and against his poore flocke; and therfor because of one crime they are all gyltie (which is of treason and rebellion against Christ), of one torment they shall all taste, which is, of the fier that never shall be quenched. And herin ought you, Madam, be circumspect and careful, if that ye have any hope of the life to come. For if the consente which procedeth of ignorance and blyndnes bringeth destruction and death, (as Christ our maister doth witnesse, saying, "If the blynde lead the blynde, they shall both fall in the ditch,") what shall become of the proud and malitious contemner of Goddes veritie offred? But our doctrine, parchance, shalbe denyed to be the veritie: wherunto I answer, that so was the doctrine of Noah, of Moses, of the Prophetes, of Christ Jesus, and of his Apostles; and yet the originall worlde perished by water; Sodome and Gomorra by fier descending from heaven; Pharao and his adherentes in the Red Sea; the citie of Jerusalem, the hole nation of the Jewes, by punishmentes and plagues, notwithstandinge that the hole multitude cried, "This is a newe doctrine, this is heresie, and tendeth to sedition." Our Petition is, that our doctrine may be tryed by the playn Word of God, that libertie be granted to us to utter and declare our myndes at large in everie article and poynt which now are in controversie; which if ye denie, geving eare to Christes ennemies, (who condemne his doctrine for heresie,) ye shall drink the cup of Goddes vengeance with them. But now to the former Lettre.

Mat. 16.

Answer to an Objection.

Gene. 19.

Exod. 14. Josephus.

The Petition of such as be Persecuted.

LETTRE.

I doubte not but the rumors which have commen to your Grace's eares of me have bene such that, if all reportes were true, I were unworthie to live in the earth; and wonder it is that the voices of the multitude shuld not so have inflammed your Grace's hart with juste hatred of such a one as I am accused to be, that all accesse to pitie shuld have bene shut

up. I am traduced as an heretike, accused as a false teach
and seducer of the people, besides other opprobries, whic
affirmed by men of worldlie honour and estimation, may eas
lie kyndle the wrath of Magistrates where innocencie is n
knowen. But blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jes
Christ, who, by the dewe of his heavenlie grace, hath
quenched the fier of displeasure as yet in youre Grace's ha
which of late dayes I have understande, that Satan is fru
trate of his interprise and purpose; which is to my hart no sm
comfort; not so much, God is witnesse, for any benefit that
can receive in this miserable life by protection of any earthl
creature, (for the cuppe which it behoveth me to drynke
appointed by the wisdome of Hym whose counsels are n
changeable,) as that I am for that benefit, which I am assur
your Grace shall receive, if that ye continue in lyke moderati
and clemencie towardes others, that most unjustlie are a
shall be accused, as that your Grace hath begon towardes n
and my most desperate cause. That is, if that by godlie wi
dome ye shall studie to bridle the furie and rage of them, wh
for the maintenance of their worldlie pompe, regarde nothin
the cruelie murthering of simple innocentes, then shall H
Matth. 5. who doth pronounce mercie to appertein to the mercifull, a
Mat. 10. promiseth that a cuppe of cold water geven for his names sa
shall not lacke reward, first cause your happie governme
to be praised in this present age, and in posterities to com
and last recompense your godlie paynes and studie with th
1 Cor. 2. joye and glorie which the eye hath not seen, nor yet can ent
in to the hart of mortall creature.

ADDITION.

Mat. 10. If Christes wordes were estemed true, that of everie yd
word an accompt shall be geven, and that nothing is so secre
lie done which shall not come to knowledge and light, I su
pose that the tonges of men shuld be better bridled, then ir
pudently to speake their pleasure in maters unknown. F

albeit that the true feare of God shuld not move them to speake truthe, yet wold I thinke, if any sparke of humanitie remained, that worldlie shame shuld impede them to lie. When reasoninge was before your Grace what man it was that preached in Aire, and divers men were of divers opynion, some affirming that it was an Englishman, and some supposing the contrarie, a Prelat, not of the least pride, said, "Nay, no Englishman, but it is Knox that knave." It was my Lordes pleasure so to baptise a poore man; the reason wherof, if it shuld be required, his rochet and miter must stand for authoritie. What further libertie he used in defining thinges like uncertein to him, to witt, of my learning and doctrine, at this present I omitt; lamenting more that such pestilent tonges have libertie to speake in the presence of Princes, then that I am sorie for any hurt that their venom can do to me in bodie or fame. For what hath my life and conversation bene, since it hath pleased God to call me frome the puddle of Papistrie, let my verie ennemies speak; and what learning I have, they may prove when they please. The report of your Grace's moderation, aswell at that time as after, when sute was made for my apprehension, moved me to write this my other Lettre. In which, albeit I have not played the orator, dilating and decking the mater for the pleasure of ytching and delicate eares, yet doth my conscience beare me recorde, that with simplicitie I have advertised you of a mortall danger; as this portion subsequent shall prove.

LETTRE.

Superfluous and foolish it shall appeare to many, that I, a man of base estat and condition, dare interprise to admonish a Princess so honorable, indued with wisdome and graces singular. But when I consider the honour which God commandeth to be geven to Magistrates, which no doubt, if it be true honour, conteineth in it selfe, in laufull thinges obedience, and in all thinges love and reverence; when further I consider the

Exod. 20. Rom. 13. 1 Petr. 2.

troublesome estat of Christes true religion, this day oppresse by blindnes of men; and last, the greate multitude of flatterer and the rare nombre of them that boldlie and plainlie dar speake the naked veritie in presence of their Princes, and prin cipallie in the cause of Christ Jesus; these thinges, I say considered, what soever any man shall judge of my interpris I am compelled to say, that

The First Proposition.

Onles in your regiment, and in using of power, your Grac be found different from the multitude of Princes and hea Rulers, that this pre-eminence wherin ye are placed shall b your dejection to torment and payn everlasting. This prop sition is sore, but, alas! it is so true, that if I shuld concel and hide it frome your Grace, I committed no lesse treaso against your Grace, then if I did se you by imprudencie take cuppe, which I knew to be poysonned or invenomed, and y wolde not admonishe you to absteine from drinking of th same.

The Second Proposition. John 4. Apoc. 14 & 17.

The Religion which this day men defend by fire and swor is a cuppe invenomed, of which whosoever drinketh, (excep that by true repentance he after drinke of the water of life drinketh therwith damnation and death.

How, and by whom, it hath bene invenomed, if it were n more tedious to your Grace to read or heare, then it is painfu to me to write or reherse, I would not spare the labour. Bu for this present, I have thoght it some discharge of one part of my dutie, if I, of verie love, admonish your Grace of th danger. Which I do, as God one day shall declare, preferrin your Graces salvation, and the salvation of the people, no committed to your charge, to any corporall benefit that ca redounde to my self.

Addition.

As Satan by craft hath corrupted the most holie ordinance of Goddes preceptes, I meane of the first Table, in the place o the spirituall honoring of God, introducing mennes dreame

inventions, and fantasies; so hath he, abusing the weaknes of man, corrupted this precept of the second Table, touching the honour which is due to parents, under whom are comprehended princes and teachers; for now the Devill hath so blinded the senses of many, that they can not, or at the least, will not learne what apperteineth to God and what to Cesar. But because the Spirite of God hath said, "Honour the King," therfore whatsoever they commande, be it right or wrong, must be obeyed. But hevie shall the judgement be which shall apprehend such blasphemours of Goddes Majestie, who dare be so bolde as to affirme that God hath commanded any creature to be obeyed against himselfe. Against God it is, that for the commandement of any Prince, be he never so potent, men shall commit idolatrie, embrace a religion which God hath not approved by his Word, or confirme by their silence wicked and blasphemous lawes, made against the honour of his Majestie. Men, I say, that so do, geve no true obedience; but as they are apostatas from God, so are they traitors to their princes, whom by flatterie they confirme in rebelling against God. Onlie they which to the death resist such wicked lawes and decrees are acceptable to God, and faithfull to their Princes; as were the Three children in the presence of Nabuchadnezer, and Daniel in the dayes of Darius, the Persian emperour, whose constant and free confession, as it glorified God, so did it notifie aswell to those tyrannes, as to all ages following, the great blasphemie, which in their rage and furie they committed against God; from the which, by all appearance, nether of both so sodeinlie shuld have been called, if the Three children hade bowed amonge the rest, and Daniel had not declared the confession of his faith, which was, with wyndoes open to praye towardes Jerusalem, manifestlie therebie declaring, that he did not consent to the blasphemouse lawe and decree which was established by the King and his counsell. Experience hath taught us what surmises and blasphemies the adversaries of Christ Jesus, of his eternall veritie, do invent and devise against

Take hede of unlaufull Obedience.

Daniel 3.

Daniel 6.

such as beginne to detecte their impietie. They are accu
to be authors of sedition, raisers of tumultes, violatours
Answer to an Objection. common orders, &c. I answer with the Prophet Isaie, "T
all is not reputed before God sedition and conjuration, wh
the foolish multitude so estemeth;" nether yet is everie tun
and breach of publike order contrarie to Goddes commar
ment. For Christ Jesus himselfe, comming to ryve the sp
from the strong armed, who before did kepe his house in qu
Mat. 10. nes, is not commen to send peace but a sworde, and to mak
man disassent from his father, &c. His Prophetes before h
Act. 14. and Apostles after him, feared not to breake publike ord
established against God, and in so doing, to move, as it w
the one-half of peoples, nations, and cities against the otl
And yet I trust that none, except the hiered servant of Sat
will accuse Christ of sedition, nor his Apostles of the troubl
of common welthes. True it is, that the most holsome me
cine most troubleth for a time the bodie replenished w
wicked and corrupted humours; but the cause herof is know
to be not in the medicine, but in the bodie subject to malac
even so the true Word of God, when it entreth to fight wh
Satan hath borne dominion, (as he still doth in the hole[1] l
pistrie), can not but appeare to be occasion of great troul
But, Madame, more profitable it is that the pestilent humo
be expelled withe paine, then that they be norished to the
The Papisticall religion a mortall pestilence. struction of the bodie. The Papistical religion is a mor
pestilence, which shall assuredlie bring to death eternall
bodies and soules from the which it is not purged in this l
And therefore take hede betimes; God calleth upon you; bew
that ye shut not up your eares. Judge not the matter af
the vilitie[2] of my bodie, whom God hath appointed embassad
and messager unto you; but with reverence and feare consi
Him whose message I beare. I come to you in the name
the eternall God, and of Christ Jesus his Sonne, to whom t
Father hath committed all power, whom he hath establisl

[1] "Hole," whole. [2] "Vilitie," meanness.

Soverein Judge over all fleshe, before whose throne ye must make accomptes with what reverence ye heare such as he sendeth. It shall not excuse you to say or thinke, that ye doubt whether I be sent of God or no. I crie unto you that the Religion which the Princes and blinded Papistes mainteine with fier and sworde, is not the religion of Christ; that your proude Prelates are none of Christes Bishoppes. I admonish you that Christes flocke is oppressed by them; and therfore I requier, and that yet againe, in the name of the Lord Jesus, that with indifferencie[1] I may be hard to preache, to reason, and to dispute in that cause, whiche if ye denie, ye declare yourselfe to beare no reverence to Christ, nor love to his true religion. The Admonition.

LETTRE.

But ye thinke paradventure, that the care of religion is not committed to Magistrates, but to the Bishoppes and Estat Ecclesiasticall, as they terme it. But deceive not your selfe; for the negligence of bishoppes shall no lesse be required of the handes of magistrates, then shall the oppression of false judges: for they injustlie promote, foster, and mainteine the one and the other: The false and corrupt judge to spoile the goodes and to oppresse the bodies of the simple, but the proude prelates do Kinges maintein to murther the soules, for the which the blood of Christ Jesus was shed: and that they do, ether by withholding frome them the true Word of life, or elles by causing teache unto them a pestilent doctrine, such as now is taught in the Papisticall churches. I know that ye wonder, how that the religion which is universalie received can be so damnable and corrupted. But if your Grace shall consider that ever from the beginning, the multitude hath declined from God (yea, even in the people to whom he spake by his Lawe and Prophetes); if ye shall consider the complaint of the Holie Ghost, complaining that nations, people, princes, and kinges Answer to an Objection. Gene. 6. Psal. 14. Psalm 2.

[1] "Indifferencie," impartiality.

Act. 4. of the earth, have raged, made conspiracies, and holden c
sels against the Lorde, and against his anointed Christ Je
further, if ye shall consider the question which Jesus him
Luc. 18. doth move in these wordes, "When the Son of man
come, shall he finde faith in the earth!" and last, if
Grace shall consider the manifest contempt of God and o
his holie preceptes, which this day reigne without punishn
upon the face of the hole earth; for as Hoseas complain
Hose. 4. "There is no veritie, there is no mercie, there is no truthe
day among men, but lies, perjurie, and oppression overfl
all, and blood toucheth blood," that is, everie iniquitie is joy
to an other: yf depelie, I say, your Grace shall contemp
the universall corruption that this day reigneth in all esta
Mat. 20. then shall your Grace cease to wonder "that many are cal
Matth. 7. and fewe chosen;" and ye shall beginne to tremble and fe
to followe the multitude to perdition.

2 Thes. 2. The universall defection, wherof S. Paule did prophecie
easie to be espied, aswell in religion as in maners. The
ruption of life is evident; and religion is not judged nor m
sured by the plaine Word of God, but by custome, consuetu
will, consent, and determination of men. But shall He
hath pronounced all cogitations of mannes hart to be vain
all times, accept the counsels and consents of men for a
gion pleasing and acceptable before him? Let not your Gr
be deceived: God can not lie, God can not denie him s
Deute. 4 & 12. He hath witnessed from the begynning, that no religion pleas
him except that which He by his owne Word hath comman
and established. The Veritie it selfe pronounceth this sente
Mat. 15. "In vain do they worshippe me, teaching doctrines the
ceptes of men:" And also, "All plantation whiche my heave
Father hath not planted, shal be roted owt." Before the c
ming of his welbeloved Sonne in fleshe, severelie he punis
all such as durst interprise to alter or chaunge his ceremo
1 Reg. 13 & 15. 2 Par. 26. Levit. 10. and statutes, as in Saule, Usias,[1] Nadab, Abihu,[2] is to be red

[1] Uzziah. [2] Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron.

And will he now, after that he hath opened his counsell to the world by his onlie Sonne, whom he commandeth to be hard, and after that by his Holie Spirit, speaking in his Apostles, he hath established the religion in which he will his true worshippers abide to the end; will he now, I say, admitte mennes inventions in the matter of religion which he reputed for damnable idolatrie? Yf man and angels wold affirme that he will, or may do it, his owne Veritie shall convicte them of a lie; for this sentence he pronounceth: "Not that which seemeth good in thy eyes shalt thou do to the Lord thy God, but that which the Lord thy God hath commanded thee, that do thou: adde nothing unto it, diminishe nothing from it." Which, sealing up his Newe Testament, he repeteth in these wordes: "That which ye have, holde till I come," &c. And therfore yet againe, it repenteth me not to say, that in this point, whiche is chefe and principall, your Grace must disassent from the multitude of rulers, or elles ye can possesse no portion with Christ Jesus in his kingdome and glorie.

Mat. 17. Act. 1, 2, & 3. 1 Cor. 11. Coloss. 2. Deut. 4 & 12. Apoca. 2.

ADDITION.

Knowing by what craft Satan laboreth continuallie to kepe the world in blindnes, I added these two former points, to witt, that ye shuld not thinke your selfe free from the Reformation of religion, because ye have bishoppes within your realme; nether yet that ye shuld judge that Religion most perfect which the multitude by wrong custome hath embraced. In these two pointes doth Satan busilie travaile. First, that no civil Magistrat presume to take cognition in the cause of Religion: for that must be deferred to the determinations of the Church. Secondarilie, that impossible it is, that that religion shuld be false, which so long time, so many Counsels, and so greate a multitude of men of divers nations and realmes, have allowed, authorised, and confirmed. What is the dutie of Magistrates, and what power the People hath in such cases granted by God,

The craft of Satan.

The ground of Papisticall religion.

my purpose is to write in a severall[1] lettre to the Nobilitie a
Estates of the realme;[2] and therfore to avoyde tediousnes a
repetition of one thing, I now supersede. And as touching
second, if ye rightlie consider the testimonies of Scriptu
which I have before adduced, I trust ye shall finde that obj
tion sufficientlie answered. For if the opinion of the multit
ought alwayes to be preferred, then did God injurie to the
ginall world. For they were all of one minde, to witt, conju
Note. against God, except Noah and his familie. And if antiqu
of time shall be considered in such cases, then shall not o
the idolatrie of the Gentiles, but also the false religion
Mahomet, be preferred to the Papistrie; for both the one
the other is more auncient then is the Papisticall religi
yea, Mahomet had established his Alcoram before any Pop
Rome was crowned with a triple crowne. But as touch
Tertul. in Apologet. antiquitie, I am content with Tertullian to say, "Let that
the most pure and perfect religion, which shall be proved m
auncient." For this is a chefe point, wherin I will joyne issue w
all the Papistes in the earth: that their religion, such as i
this day, is not of such antiquitie as is that which we cont
to be the true and onlie religion acceptable before God; net
yet that their church is the Catholic church, but that it is
late dayes in respect of Christes institution, crept in and
vised by man, and therfore am bold to affirme it odious a
The Chef-Proposition. abominable. For this is our chefe proposition, That in
religion of God onlie ought his owne Word to be considere
that no authoritie of man nor angell ought in that case to
respected. And as for their Counsels, when the mater sh
come to triall, it shall be easelie seen for whom the most god
and most auncient Counsels shall most plainlie speake. I
Nicen. 1. prove by a counsel, that of more authoritie is the sentence
one man, founded upon the simple truth of God, then is
determination of the hole Counsel without the assurance

[1] Separate, special.

[2] See *infra* his Appelation, also his Letter to the Commonalty of S
land.

Goddes Worde. But that all their determinations which we impugne are not onlie mainteined without any assurance of Scriptures, but also are established against the truth of the same, yea, and for the most part against the decrees of the former Counsels, I offer my selfe evidentlie to prove. But nowe shortlie to the rest of the former Lettre.

LETTRE.

An orator, and Goddes messager also, justlie might requier of you nowe, by Goddes hand promoted to high dignitie, a motherlie pitie upon your subjects; a justice inflexible to be used against murtherers and common oppressors; a hart voide of avarice and partialitie; a minde studious and carefull for maintenance of that realme and common welth above whom God hath placed you, and by it hath made you honourable, with the rest of vertues, which not onlie Goddes Scriptures, but also writers illuminated onlie with the light of nature, requier in godlie rulers. But vayne it is to crave reformation of maners, where religion is corrupted. For like as a man can not do the office of a man, till first he have a being and life; so to worke workes pleasant in the sight of God the Father can no man do, without the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, which doth not abide in the hartes of idolaters.

The Dutie of Magistrates.

The Spirit of God abideth not with Idolaters.

And therfore the most godlie princes, Josias, Ezechias, and Josaphat, seking Goddes favor to rest upon them and upon their people, before all things began to reforme the religion. For it is as the stomak within the bodie, which, if it be corrupted, of necessitie it infecteth the hole masse: And therfore (often I repete that, which to be done is most necessarie), if your Grace pretend to reigne with Christ Jesus, then it behoveth you to take care of his true religion, which this day within your realme is so deformed, that no part of Christes ordinances remaine in their first strength and originall puritie. Which, I praise God, to me is lesse diffieill to prove then dangerous to speake. And yet nether the one nor the other I

3 Reg. 15. 2 Par. 17. 4 Reg. 22. 2 Par. 34. 4 Reg. 18. 2 Par. 29, 30, & 31.

The Second Proposition.

feare; partlie because the love of life eternall quencheth terrour of temporall death, and partlie because I wold, witl Paule, wish my selfe accursed from Christ (as touching eart pleasure) for the salvation of my bretheren, and illuminatio your Grace, which thing, work, and verie dede, and not t word or writing, shall witnesse and declare, yf I may purcl the libertie of tonge but fortie dayes onlie.

ADDITION.

Stob. ser. 12. Nicepho. Callistus Histor. Eccles. lib. 10. cap. 42.

The wise and facund Democritus hade sometimes a famil sentence: "That honest it was to commend such worke were worthie of praise, but to praise things that were wic could not procede but from a deceivable minde." And The tius, a philosopher of great fame, seing the hall of Jovinian Roman Emperour replenished with flatterers, said, "Of t maners it may be espied, that more they worshippe the sce and the purple then God;" signifying that they little rega whether the Emperour was godlie or ungodlie, so that might reteine them selves in favour with him. Albeit those were ethnikes,[1] and nether hade knowledge of God, a pretend, nether had geven so playn a confession to dec them selves enemies to all iniquitie (as we have done by tisme, and by our hole profession of Christianitie), yet do t wordes damne no small nomber of us, and cheflie of such a conversant with princes. For who in these miserable d judgeth him selfe to have offended, albeit he praise, alowe, mainteine what soever the princes and upper powers dev Yea, although it be to oppresse and to spoyle the poore pull from them their skinnes, and, as the Prophet saith, Mich. 3. break their bones, and to cut them in pieces, as flesh for caldron or pot;" yet I say, that the Princes shall not la judges to crie, it is right, it is for the common welth, for defe of the realme and ease of the subjectes. So that the esta times is even now such, as when the Prophet complained,

[1] "Ethnikes," heathens, pagans.

ing, "The Princes aske, and the judge is redie to geve, not his own but the life and blood of the poore." Howe soon a greate man hath spoken the corruption of his minde, he hath his flatterers redy to applaude and confirme whatsoever he speaketh. And let the Princes be of what religion they please, that is all one to the most part of men, so that with abnegation of God, of his honour and religion, they may retein the frendshippe of the Court. But, alas! howe miserable be Princes that so are abused, and howe contagious a pestilence be such flatterers to commonwelthes, empires, and realmes, God hath declared even from the beginninge, to paynt owt the mischief which from them procedeth to such as geve eare unto them. The auncient writers compare them to harlottes, to ravens, and to more ravenous beastes, and not without cause. For as harlottes can never abide that their lovers shuld returne to repentance and sobernes of minde, so can not flatterers sustein that such as they deceive shall come to right judgement. And as ravens pyke owt the eyes of dead carions, and as ravenous beastes devoure the same, so do flatterers (being more cruel) pyke at the eyes of living men, and, blynding the eyes of their understanding and judgement, do expone them to be devoured in bodie and soule to Satan. This we have by profane writers onlie, but the Holie Spirit taught us this infallible truth, that where iniquitie reigneth in a commonwelth, and none is found boldlie and openlie to reprehend the same, that there shall sodein vengeance and destruction followe. For thus it is written, and pronounced by the Prophet Ezechiel: "Shalt thou not judge the citie of blood, which hath made idols? whose rulers shed blood to the uttermost of their power; they have despised my holie thinges, they have devised iniquitie, and have perfourmed the same. The conjuration of Prophets hath gathered up the riches, and whatsoever is precious within the same. The priests violentlie have torne and rent my lawe. The people of the land hath wroght deceitfullie: they have oppressed the poore, and have done violence to the strangier

Flatterers are a contagious pestilence.

Ezech. 22.

Note.

without judgement, and I have sought of them a man to rep
the hedge, and to stande in the gappe before me, but I ha
founde none. Therfore have I poured furth my wrath up
them, and in the fier of my hote displeasure I have consum
them." Advert, Madam, for these are not the wordes of m
tall man, but of the eternall God, and were not spoken agai
Jerusalem onlie, but against everie realme and nation that
offendeth. The synnes that here be named are idolatrie in
avarice and crueltie in the Princes and Rulers; conjuration
the Prophetes to defend the wicked; deceit, fraude, and
lence in the common people; and, finallie, an universall sile
of all man, none being founde to reprehend these enormit
Wolde to God that I might with safetie of conscience exc
you, your counsel, and the idolaters of that realme, from an
these crimes afore named. The idolatrie which is commit
is more evident then that it can be denyed; the avarice
crueltie, aswell of your selfe as of such as be in authoritie, r
be knowen by the factes: for fame carieth the voices of
poore, oppressed by intolerable taxes, not onlie to us here
a strange countrie, but, I am assured, to the eares of the
of hostes. The conspiracie and conjuration of your false p
phetes is knowen to the world, and yet is none founde so faith
to God, nor mercifull to your Grace, that freelie will and d
admonish you, to repent before that God rise hymselfe in jud
ment. When I name repentance, I meane no outward she
of holines, which commonlie is founde in hypocrites, but
meane a true conversion to the Lord God from your hole ha
with a damning of all superstition and idolatrie, in which
have bene norished, which with your presence ye have decor
and to your power mainteined and defended. Onles, I s
that this poyson be purged from your hart, (be your outwa
life never so glistering before the world), yet in the presence
God it is but abominable. Yea, further, I say, that whe
this venome of the serpent (idolatrie I meane) lurketh in t
hart, it is impossible but, at one time or other, it shall pr

Idolatrie is mother to all vice.

duce pestilent fruites, albeit paradventure not openlie before men, yet before God no lesse odious then the factes of murtherers, publicanes, and harlottes; and therfore in my former Lettre I saide, that superfluous it was to require Reformation of maners where the Religion is corrupted: Which yet againe I repete, to the end that your Grace more depelie may weye the mater. But nowe to the rest of the same my former Lettre.

LETTRE.

I am not ignorant howe dangerous a thing it appeareth to the naturall man to innovate any thing in maters of religion: And partlie I consider, that your Grace's power is not so free as a publike Reformation perchance wold requier. But if your Grace shall consider the danger, and damnation perpetuall, which inevitablie hangeth upon all mainteiners of a false religion, then shall the greatest danger easelie devour and swalowe up the smaller. Yf your Grace shal consider, that ether ye must serve God to life everlasting, or elles serve the World to death and damnation; then, albeit that man and angell shuld dissuade you, ye will chose life and refuse death. And if further, ye shall consider, that the verie life consisteth in the knowledge of the onlie true God, and of his Son Christ Jesus; and that true knowledge hath annexed with it Goddes true worshippe and honour, whiche requireth a testimonie of his own will, expressed by his Word, that such honour doth please Him: If these thinges afore said your Grace do earnestlie meditate, then albeit ye maye not do sodeinlie what ye wolde, yet shall ye not cease to do what ye maye. Your Grace can not hastelie abolishe superstition, and remove from offices unprofitable pastoures, of whom speaketh Ezechiel the Prophete, which to a publike reformation is requisite and necessarie. But if the zele of Goddes glorie be fervent in your Graces hart, ye will not by wicked lawes maintein idolatrie, nether will ye suffer the furie of Bishoppes to murther and devoure the poore members of Christes bodie, as in times by past they have bene

Matth. 6. Rom. 8. 3 Reg. 18.

John 17.

Ezech. 34.

accustomed; which thing, yf ether by blynde ignorance ye dc
or yet for pleasure of others within this realme permit to b
Note. done, then, except you spedelie repent, ye and your posteriti
shall sodeinlie fele the depressing hand of Him who hath exalte
Daniel 2. you. Ye shall be compelled, will ye or not, to knowe that H
is eternall, against whome ye addresse the batell; and that i
is He that moderateth the times and disposeth kingdomes
ejecting from authoritie such as be inobedient, and placin
1 Reg. 2. Job 12. Psal. 107. Daniel 2. others according to his good pleasure; that it is he that glori
fieth them that do glorifie hym, and poureth furth contemp
upon princes that rebell against his graces offred.[1]

ADDITION.

In writing of this parcell, as I remembred the impedimente
which might call you back from God and from his true obe
dience, so did I consider what occasion ye hade to tremble an
to feare before his Majestie, and to interprise the losse of al
worldlie glorie for the promoting of the glorie of God. I d
consider that your power is but borowed, extraordinarie, an
Note. unstable, for ye have it but by permission of others; and sel
dom it is that Women do long reigne with felicitie and joy
For as nature hath denyed to them a constant spirit of good
Esai. 3. government; so hath God pronounced, that they are never gever
to reigne over men, but in his wrath and indignation. Your
most especiall frendes moreover, blynded by the vanitie of thi
worlde, yea, being dronken with the cuppe of that Roman har
lot, are mortall ennemies to Christ Jesus, and to his true reli
gion. These thinges may easelie abashe the mind of a woman
not confirmed by grace; but yet if ye shall a litle consider
with me the causes why that ye ought to hasard all for the
glorie of God in this behalfe, the former terrours shall sodeinlie
vanishe. I do not esteme that thing greatest which parad-

[1] Upon comparing this paragraph with the Letter as it appeared in 1556, (*supra*, p. 83), it will be seen that the Author has made some alterations, by omitting as well as adding a few words.

venture some others do, to wit, that if ye shall interprise to innovate any thing in maters of Religion, that then ye shall lose your Authoritie, and also the favours of your carnall frendes: I looke further, to wit, to the judgementes of God, who hath begonne alredie to declare him selfe angrie with you, with your sede and posteritie, yea, with the hole realme, above which it shuld have ruled. Impute not to fortune, that first your two sonnes were sodeinlie taken from you within the space of six houres;[1] and after, your husband[2] raft,[3] as it were, by violence, Note. from life and honour, the memoriall of his name, succession, and royall dignitie perishing with him selfe. For albeit the usurped abuse, or rather tyrannie of some realmes, have permitted Women to succede to the honour of their fathers, yet must their glorie be transferred to the house of a strangier. And so I say, That with him selfe was buried his name, succession, and royall dignitie; and in this, if ye espie not the anger and hote displeasure of God, (threatning you and the Note. rest of your posteritie with the same plague,) ye are more obstinate then I wold wish you to be. I wold ye shuld ponder and consider depelie with your self, that God useth not to punish realmes and nations with such rare plagues without greate cause; nether useth he to restore to honours and glorie the house which he beginneth once to deject, till repentance of the former crimes be founde. Ye may parchance doubt what crimes shuld have bene in your husband, you, or the realme, for the which God shuld so grevouslie have punished you. I answer, The maintenance and defense of moste horrible idolatry, with the shedding of the blood of the saintes of God, who laboured to notifie and rebuke the same. This, I say, (other iniquities omitted) is such a crime before the eyes of his Majesty, that for the same he hath poured furth his extreme vengeance upon Kinges, and upon their posteritie, depriving them from honours and dignitie for ever: as by the histories of the Bokes of the Kinges is most evident. To Jeroboam it is said,

[1] In 1540, see vol. i. p. 68. [2] Ib. p. 92. [3] "Raft," reft, snatched away.

1 Reg. 14. "Because I have exalted thee from the middest of the people, and have made thee Prince over my people Israel, I have rent the kingdom frome the house of David for idolatrie also, and have geven it unto thee; but thou hast not bene as David my servant, &c. But thou hast done wickedlie above all that have gone before thee. For thou hast made to thee other goddes and molten images to provoke me, and hast cast me behind thy backe. Therfore shall I bring affliction upon the house of Jeroboam, and I shall destroie to Jeroboam all that pisseth against the wall, (signifying therbie the male children,) and shall cast furth the posteritie of Jeroboam, as dung is cast furthe till it be consumed." This sentence was not onlie executed against this idolater, but also against the rest of idolaters in that realme, as they succeeded one after another. For to Baasa, whom God used as instrument to root owt the sede of
1 Reg. 16. Jeroboam, it is said, "Because thou hast walked in the way of Jeroboam, and hast caused my people Israel [to] syn, that thou shuldest provoke me in their synnes: therfore shall I cut down the posteritie of Baasa, and the posteritie of his house, and shall make thy house as the house of Jeroboam. He that shall die to Baasa in the citie, hym shall dogges eat; and he that shall
1 Reg. 16. 2 Reg. 10. 2 Reg. 17. die in the field, hym shall the fowles devoure." Of the same cup, and for the same cause, dranke Ela and Achab, yea, and the posteritie of Jehu, following the footsteppes of their forefathers. By these examples you may evidentlie espie, that idolatrie is the cause why God destroyeth the posteritie of Princes. Not onlie of those that first invent abominations, but also of suche as follow and defend the same. Consider, Madame, that God hath begonne verie sharplie with you, taking frome you, as it were togither, two children and a husband. He hath begonne, I say, to declare hym selfe angrie; beware that ye provoke not the eyes of his Majestie. It will not be the hawtie lokes of the proude, the strength of your frendes, nor multitude of men, that can justifie your cause in his presence. Yf ye presume to rebell against hym, (and against

hym ye rebell yf ye denye my most humble request, which I make in his name, and it is this: With the hasard of myne own life, I offer to prove that religion which now ye mainteine, to be false, deceivable, and abomination before God: And that I shall do by most evident testimonies of his blessed, holie, and infallible Word): Yf this, I say, ye deny, (rebelling against God), the favour of your frendes shall litle availe you, when he shall declare hym selfe ennemy to you and to your posteritie; which, assure your selfe, he shall shortlie do, if ye beginne to display the baner of your malice against hym. Let not the prosperitie of others, be they Princes, Quenes, Kinges, or Emperours, bolden you to contemne God and his loving admonition. They shall drincke the cup of his wrath, everie one in their rank, as he hath appointed them. No realme in these quarters, except it that next lieth to you, hath he so manifestlie stricken with his terrible rod, as he hath done you and your realme; and therfore it becometh you first to stowp, except that ye will have the threatninges pronounced by Isaie the Prophete ratified upon you; to wit, "That your sodeine destruction be as the rotten wall, and your breaking as the breaking of a potsherd, which is broken without pitie; so that no portion of it can be found able ether to carie fyer or water." Wherby the Prophete doth signifie, that the proude contemners of God, and of his admonitions, shall so perishe from all honours, that they shall have nothing worthie of memoriall behinde them in the earth. Yea, yf they do leave any thing, as it shall be unprofitable, so shall it be in execration and hatred to the elect of God. And therfore thus procedeth my former Lettre.

The offer of John Knox.

Advert.

Prosperitie for a time proveth not religion good.

No realme, England except, so grevouslie plaged as Scotland.

Isaie 30.

Isaie 14.

Isaie 6.

Lettre.

Howe dangerous that ever it shall appeare to the fleshe, to obey God, and to make warre against the Devill, the Prince of darknes, pride, and superstition; yet if your Grace looke to have your selfe and sede to continue in honour, worldlie and everlasting, subject your selfe by times under the hand of Him

Remembrance. that is omnipotent: Embrace his will, despise not his testament, refuse not his graces offred. When he calleth upon you, withdrawe not your care. Be not led away with the vaine opinion, that your Church[1] can not erre. Be ye most assuredlie persuaded, that so farre as in life ye see them degenerate frome Christes true Apostles, so in religion are they further
Josue 1. corrupted. Lay the Boke of God before your eyes, and let it be judge to that which I say; which if ye with feare and re-
2 Par. 34. verence obey, as did Josias the admonitions of the Prophetesse,
2 Par. 1. then shall He (by whom Kinges do reigne) crowne your batell with double benediction, and reward you with wisdome, riches, glorie, honour, and long life in this your regiment temporall, and with life everlasting, when the King of all kinges, (whose membres nowe do crie for your helpe), the Lord Jesus, shall appeare to judgement, accompanied with his angelles, before whom ye shall make accompte of your present regiment, when
Apoc. 6. the proude and disobedient shall crie, "Mountaines, fall upon us, and hyde us frome the face of the Lord." But then it shall be too late, because they contemned his voice when he lovinglie called.

God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christe, by the power of his Holie Spirit, move your hart so to consider and accepte the thinges that be said, that they be not a testimonie of your just condemnation, in that greate day of the Lord Jesus, to whose omnipotent Spirit I unfeinedlie commit your Grace.

Addition.

When Jeremie the Prophet, at the commandement of God, had writen the sermons, threatninges, and plagues which he had
Jerem. 36. spoken against Israel and Juda, and had commanded them to be redde by Baruch his scribe, because him selfe was excommunicated and forbiden to entre in to the temple, by the providence of God, it came to passe, that Micheas the son of Ga-

[1] In the edit. 1556 (*supra*, p. 84), "your Church and Prelates." Some other alterations occur in this and the concluding paragraph.

malias, hearing the said sermons, passed to the Kinges house, and did communicate the mater with the rest of the Princes, who also after they hade redde the same volume of Jeremie's preachings, did not concele the truth from King Jehoiakim, who then did reigne in Jerusalem. But the proude and desperate Prince, commanding the boke to be redde in his presence, before he had hard three or foure leaves of the same, did cut it and cast it in to the fier, notwithstanding that some of the Princes (I thinke not all) made request in the contrarie. But the Prophet was charged by God to write againe, and to say to Jehoiakim the King, "Thus saieth the Lord, Thou hast burnt this boke, saying, Why hast thou writen in it according to this sentence, Assuredlie the King of Babylon shall come, and shall destroye this land, and shall make it voide of men and beastes. Therfore thus saieth the Lord of Jehoiakim the King, There shall not be one left alive to sit in the seat of David. Their carcases shall be cast to the heate of the daye, and to the frost of the night, (wherbie the Prophet did signifie the moste vile contempt and most cruell torment), and I shall visit the iniquitie of him selfe, of his sede and servantes, and I shall bring upon them, and upon the inhabiters of Jerusalem, and upon all Juda, all the calamities which I have spoken against them. Albeit they wold not heare." This is not writen, Madame, for that time onlie, but to assure us, that the like punishement abideth the like contemners, of what estate, condition, or degree that ever they be. I did write unto you before, having testimonie of a good conscience, that I did it in the feare of my God, and by the motion of his Holie Spirit, (for the request of faithfull brethren in thinges laufull and apperteining to Goddes glorie, I can not but judge to be the voice of the Holie Ghost), but how ye did accept the same, my former writing, I do not otherwise then by conjectures understand. Whether ye did reade it to the end or not, I am uncerteine: one thing I knowe, that ye did delyver it to one of your prelates, saying, "My Lord, will ye reade a Pasquill?" As charitie

persuadeth me to interpret thinges (doubtfullie spoken) in the best sence, so my dutie to God (who hath commanded me to flatter no Prince in the earth) compelleth me to say, that if no more ye esteme the admonition of God nor the Cardinalles do the scoffing of Pasquilles, that then he shall shortlie send you messagers[1] with whom ye shall not be able on that maner to jest. If my person be considered, I grant my threatninges are no more to be feared than be the merie sportes which fearfull men do father upon Pasquillus in Rome.[2] But, Madam, if ye shall depelie consider, that God useth men (yea, and most commonlie those that be of lowest degree, and most abject before the world) to be his messagers and embassadours, not onlie to notifie his will to the simple people, but also to rebuke the most proude tyrannes and potent Princes; then will ye not judge the liquour by the outward apparance and nature of the
Amos 8. vessell. For ye are not ignorant, that the most noble wine is inclosed within the tunne made of fraill wood, and that the most precious oyntment is often kept within the pot made of claye. Yf further ye shall consider, that God will do nothing touching the punishment of realmes and nations, which he will not revele to his servantes the Prophetes, whose tonges he will
Zacha. 1. compell to speake, sometimes contrarie to the appetites and desires of their own hartes: and whose wordes he will performe, be they never so unapparant to the judgement of men: Yf these ye do depelie wey,[3] then will ye feare the thing whiche
James 5. presentlie is not seen. Elias was but a man, as S. James doth witnesse, like to his brethren; and yet at his praier was Achab
1 Reg. 17. the idolater, and all Israell with him, punished three yeares
1 Reg. 18. and six monethes, God shutting up the heaven, that nether rayne nor dewe fell upon the earth the space afore writen.
1 Reg. 19. And in the end, God so wrought by hym, that Baales priestes were first confounded, and after justlie punished. And albeit that Jesabel sought his blood, and by othe had determined his

[1] "Messagers," messengers.
[2] See note 2, p. 459.
[3] "Wey," weigh.

death, yet as she was frustrat of her intent, so could she not 2 Reg. 9.
kepe her owne bones from the dogges; whiche punishment the 1 Reg. 19.
Prophete (God so ruling his tonge) had before appointed to that wicked woman. Albeit, Madame, that the messagers of God are not sent this day with visible miracles; because they teache none other doctrine then that which is confirmed with miracles frome the beginning of the worlde; yet will not He, who hath promised to take charge over his poore and litle flocke to the end, suffer the contempt of their embassade[1] escape punishment and vengeance. For the Truth it selfe hath said, "He that heareth you heareth me, and he that contemneth Mat. 10.
you contemneth me." I did not speake unto you, Madame, by my former Lettre, nether yet do I nowe, as Pasquillus[2] doth to the Pope and his carnall Cardinalles, in the behalf of such as dare not utter their names; but I come in the name of Christ Jesus, affirming that the Religion which ye maintein is damnable idolatrie; the which I offre my selfe to prove by the most evident testimonies of Goddes Scriptures. And in this quarell I present my selfe against all the Papistes within the realme,

[1] "Embassade," embassy.

[2] "Pasquillus," referring to a statue at Rome named Pasquino. Pope Adrian the Sixth, says Burton, translating a passage from Paulus Jovius, "was so highly offended and grievously vexed with *Pasquillers* at Rome, that he gave command that Statue should be demolished and burned, the ashes flung into the river Tiber; and had done it forthwith, had not Ludovicus Suessanus, a facete companion, diswaded him to the contrary, by telling him that *Pasquil's* ashes would turn into frogs in the bottome of the river, and croake worse and lowder than before."—(Anatomy of Melancholy, p. 149, edit. 1632.) The learned Selden, in his Table Talk, art. "Libels," has remarked, "Though some make slight of libels, yet you may see by them how the wind sits. . . . More solid things do not shew the complexion of the times so well as ballads and libels."—(Edit. by Dr Irving, p. 107, Edin. 1854.)

The mutilated statue of Pasquino still exists, at the corner of the Palazzo Bruschi, and possesses an historical interest. For several centuries, sarcastic and witty effusions, directed against the highest dignitaries in church and state, continued to be affixed to this statue of Pasquino, or Pasquillus. A similar statue, named Marforio, in the court of the Museum of the Capitol, was employed as his respondent, and many of their dialogues and defamatory verses have been preserved in the well-known work, "Pasquillorum Tomi duo," printed in 1544, and in other works.

desiringe none other armure but Goddes Holie Worde, an
libertie of my tongue.

God move your hart to understand my petition, to l
the truth, and unfeinedlie to followe the same.

AMEN.

REVELA. JOH. XXI.

"I am the beginning and the end. I will geve to him t
athirst of the well of the water of life frelie. He
overcometh shall inherit all thinges; and I will l
God, and he shalbe my sonne. But the fearfull, and
leving, and the abominable, and murderers, and wh
mongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all lyars,
have their part in the lake whiche burneth with fie
brimstone; which is the seconde death."

THE
APPELLATION
FROM THE SENTENCE PRONOUNCED BY THE BISHOPS AND CLERGY: ADDRESSED TO THE NOBILITY AND ESTATES OF SCOTLAND.

M.D.LVIII.

AFTER Knox's arrival in Scotland, in the end of autumn 1555, the signal success which attended his preaching in different parts of the country, and his administering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in private houses, to which many persons of distinction resorted, alarmed the prelates, and instigated them to adopt some measures to check his progress. For this purpose, he tells us, he was summoned to appear before their Convocation in the Church of the Black Friars, in Edinburgh,[1] on the 15th of May 1556. Having resolved to comply with this summons, he came to Edinburgh accompanied by Erskine of Dun and other friends of the Reformation: "But that diet

[1] The order of the Dominicans or Black Friars, called also *Fratres Predicatores*, the Preaching Friars, were brought to Scotland by Alexander the Second. In 1230, he granted a charter conferring on them certain privileges, with a site for their convent on the south side of Edinburgh; and also the street or vennel, which still retains the name of the Blackfriars Wynd, with power to erect houses or other buildings. To this convent there was a church annexed; and here, in 1275, Cardinal Bagimont assembled the Scottish clergy to render upon oath the value of their benefices. This ecclesiastical rental is well known as Bagimont's Roll. The convent, surrounded with pleasant gardens, stood between the site of what was known as the New High School, (rebuilt in 1777), now converted into an hospital, and that of the Royal Infirmary. The church itself probably escaped, but the monastery was burnt to the ground by a sudden fire which happened on the 25th of April 1528. It would otherwise, no doubt, have suffered from the burnings and ravages of the English troops during their invasions in 1544 and 1547. At the time of the Reformation, it is said to have been partially rebuilt. On the 16th March 1562–3, the Magistrates obtained from Queen Mary a grant of the monastery, with its revenues, &c., for the purpose of erecting on its site an hospital for the aged poor. But this purpose was so far dispensed with by the Regent Earl of Murray, who, on the 3d of January 1566–7, authorised the profits and rents to be appropriated for erecting and maintaining an hospital at the Trinity College, Leith Wynd.—(Maitland's Hist. of Edinb., p. 182.)

held not; for whether that the bishops perceived informality in their own proceedings, or if they feared danger to ensue upon their extremity, it was (Knox adds) unknown to us. But the Saturday before the day appointed, they cast[1] their own summons; and the said John, the same day of the summons, taught[2] in Edinburgh, in a greater audience than ever before he had done in that town."[3]

Knox had scarcely returned to Geneva, when the same proceedings were renewed by the Popish clergy; and as he failed to make his appearance before the Provincial Council, he was no doubt condemned as contumacious, and sentence of excommunication pronounced against him in his absence. As a promulgation of this Ecclesiastical sentence, which not only degraded him from his priest's orders, but subjected him to be delivered to the Secular power for the punishment of death, and his soul to damnation, his effigy, he asserts, according to a practice not unusual, was ignominiously burned at the Cross of Edinburgh.

Of the proceedings in these Convocations no special record has been preserved, but the fact of his condemnation is indisputable. Upon receiving tidings of this cruel and unjust sentence, he published his Appellation[4] addressed to the Nobility and Estates of Scotland. In this elaborate and forcible appeal, he gives a summary of the doctrines which had been taught by him during his previous visit to his native country, and which the Popish clergy had denounced "to be false, deceivable, and heretical." At the same time, he wrote an Epistle to the Commonalty of Scotland dated 14th of July 1558. It is subjoined to the same treatise in the little volume, printed at Geneva in 1558. A facsimile of the title-page is exhibited on the next leaf.

[1] "Cast," set aside.
[2] "Taught," preached.
[3] See vol. i. p. 251.
[4] "Appellation," the old substantive for *appeal*, and common in old English writers.

THE AP-
PELLATION OF
IOHN KNOXE FROM
the cruell and moſt iniuſt ſentence pronounced againſt him by the falſe biſhoppes and clergie of Scot land, with his ſupplication and exhortation to the nobilitie, eſtates, and cōmunaltie of the ſame realme.

✻

Printed at GENEVA,

M. D. LVIII.

In 12mo, sign. A to K in eights, numbered on 80 leaves, printed in Roman letter. The Appellation ends on fol. 46. Then follows his Letter to the Commonalty of Scotland. On fol. 59 is Gilby's Admonition to England and Scotland; on fol. 77, the Note by Knox regarding his Second Blast; and on fol. 78, Kethe's version of the 94th Psalm.

To the Nobilitie and Estates of Scotland, Johne Knoxe wisheth Grace, Mercie, and Peace from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the spirit of righteous judgement.

It is not only the love of life temporall (Right Honorable), neither yet the fear of corporall death, that moveth me at this present to expone unto you the injuries done against me, and to crave of you, as of laufull powers by God appointed, redresse of the same; but partly it procedeth from that reverence whiche everie man oweth to Goddes eternal truth, and partly from a love which I beare to your salvation, and to the salvation of my brethren abused in that realme by such as have no fear of God before their eyes. It hath pleased God, of his infinite mercie, not onlie so to illuminate the eyes of my minde, and so to tuche my dull hart, that clearly I see, and by his grace unfeanedly beleve, "that there is no other name geven to men under the heaven, in whiche salvation consisteth, save the name of Jesus alone:" "Who, by that sacrifice which he did once offer upon the Crosse, hath sanctified for ever those that shall enherite the kingdom promised:" But also it hath pleased him of his superaboundant grace, to make and appointe me, most wretched of many thousandes, a witnes, minister, and preacher of the same doctrine: the somme whereof I did not spare to communicate withe my brethren, being with them in the realme of Scotland, in the yeare 1556, because I know myselfe to be a steward,

Every man ought to confesse and reverence Goddes trueth.

Act. 4.

Hebr. 10.

1 Cor 3. Mat. 25. and that accompts of the talent committed to my charge shal required by Him who will admit no vaine excuse which fearfi men pretend. I did therefore, as God did minister, duri the tyme I was conversant with them (God is record and w nesse), truely and syncerly, according to the gift granted un me, devide the worde of salvation, teaching all men to ha syn, whiche before God was and is so odious, that none oth sacrifice coulde satisfie his justice except the death of his on Sonne; and to magnifie the greate mercies of our hevenlie F

John 3. Rom. 5, 8. 2 Cor. 5. ther, who did not spare the Substance of his own glorie, b did give hym to the world to suffer the ignominious and cru death of the Crosse, by that meanes to reconcile his chos children to hymselfe: teaching further what is the duetie such as do beleve them selves purged by such a price from th

Rom. 6. Ephe. 4, 5. former filthines: To wit, that they are bound to walke in t newnes of life, fighting against the lustes of the fleshe, a

Ephe. 2. studyinge at all tymes to glorifie God by such good woorkes he hath prepared his children to walke in.

In doctrine I did further affirme, so taught by my Mast

Mat. 10. Christ Jesus, "that whosoever denieth hym, yea, or is asham of hym, before this wicked generation; hym shall Christ Jes denie, and of hym shall he be ashamed, when he shall appea in his Majestie." And therefore I feared not to affirme, th of necessitie it is, that suche as hope for life everlasting avoi

Vaine religion or idolatrie. all superstition, vaine religion, and idolatrie: Vaine religi and idolatrie I call whatsoever is done in Goddes service honour, without the expresse commaundement of his o Worde.

This doctrine did I beleve to be so conformable to Godd holie Scriptures, that I thought no creature could have been impudent as to have damned any point or article of the san Yet neverthelesse, me, as an heritike, and this doctrine as he tically, have your fals Bishoppes and ungodlie Clergie damn

A Sentence Pronunced. pronouncing against me a Sentence of death, in testificati wherof they have burned a Picture. From which fals a

cruell sentence, and from all judgement of that wicked generation, I make it knowen to your Honours, that I Appeal to a laufull and generall Council;[1] to suche, I mean, as the most auncient lawes and canones do approve to be holden; by suche as whose manifest impietie is not to be reformed in the same, most humbly requiring of your Honours, that, as God hath appointed you princes in that people, and, by reason therof, requireth of your handes the defence of innocentes troubled in your dominion, in the meane tyme, and till the controversies that this day be in Religion be laufully decided, ye receave me, and suche others as most unjustlie by those cruell beastes are persecuted, in your defence and protection.

APPELLATION FROM THE SAME.

THE REQUEST OF JOHN KNOX.

Your Honours are not ignorant, that it is not I alone who doth sustain this cause against the pestilent generation of Papistes, but that the most part of Germanie, the countrie of Helvetia, the Kinge of Denmarke, the Nobilitie of Polonia, togither with many other cities and churches reformed, Appeall from the tyrannie of that Antichrist, and most earnestly do call for a laufull and general Council, wherin may all controversies in Religion be decided by the auctoritie of Goddes most sacred Worde. And unto this same, as said is, do I Appeal yet once againe, requiring of your Honours to hold my simple and playn Appellation of no lesse value nor effect, then if it had bene made with greater circumstance, solemnitie, and ceremonie; and that ye receave me callinge unto you, as to the powers of God ordained, in your protection and defence against the rage of tyrantes, not to mentaine me in any iniquitie, errour, or false opinion, but to let me have such equitie as God by his Worde, auncient Lawes, and determinations of most godlie Councils, graunte to men accused or infamed.

THE PETITION OF PROTESTANTS.

The Word of God will that no man shall die, except he be found criminall and worthie of death for offence committed; of the whiche he must be manifestly convicted by two or three witnesses. Ancient Lawes do permitt just defences to such as

Deut. 17.

[1] In the orig., *Council* is usually printed *Counsil*.

be accused, (be their crimes never so horrible); and godlie Councilles will, that nether byshopp nor person ecclesiasticall whatsoever, accused of any crime, shall sit in judgement, consultation, or counsil, where the cause of such men as do accuse them is to be tried.

THE PETITION OF JOHN KNOXE. These thinges require I of your Honours to be graunted unto me: to wit, that the doctrine which our adversaries condemn for heresie may be tried by the simple and playn Word of God, that just defenses be admitted to us that sustain the battaile against this pestilent generation of Antichrist, and that they be removed from judgement in our cause, seinge that our accusation is not intended against any one particular person, but NOTE WELL. against that hole kingdome, whiche we doubt not to prove to be a power usurped against God, against his commaundement, and against the ordenance of Christ Jesus established in his church by his chefe Apostles: Yea, we doubt not to prove the kingdome of the Pope to be the kingdome and power of Antichrist. And therefore, my Lordes, I can not cease, in the name of Christ Jesus, to require of you that the matter may come in examination; and that ye, the Estates of the Realme, by your auctoritie, compell such as will be called Bishoppes, not only to desist from their cruell murthering of such as do studie to promote Goddes glorie in detecting and disclosing the damnable impietie of that man of syn the Romane Antechrist, but also that ye compell them to answer to suche crimes as shall be laid to their charge, for not righteously instructing the flock committed to their cares.

Answer. But here I know two thinges shalbe doubted. The former:
1. To Objections. Whether that my Appellation is lawfull and to be admitted, seing that I am damned as an heritike: and secondarely, Whether your Honours be bound to defend such as call for your support in that case, seing that your Bishoppes (who in matters of religion claime all auctoritie to appertaine to them) have by their sentence allredy condemned me. The one and the other I nothing doubt most clerely to prove: Fyrst, that my Appel-

lation is most lawfull and just: and secondarely, that your Honours can not refuse to defend me thus calling for your aid, but that in so doing, ye declare yourselves rebellious to God, mentainers of murtherers, and shedders of innocent blood. NOTE.

How just cause I have by the Civile law (as for their Canon, it is accursed of God) to appeale from their unjust sentence, my purpose is not to make long discourse. Onlie I will touche the poyntes which all men confesse to be just causes of Appellation. THE APPELLATION IS JUST AND LAWFULL.

Fyrst, Laufully could I not be sommoned by them, being for that tyme absent from their jurisdiction, charged with the preaching of Christes Evangill in a free citie not subject to their tyrannie.

Secondarely, To me was no intimation made of their sommondes, but so secrete was their surmised malice, that the copie of the sommondes being required was denyed.

Thirdlie, To the realme of Scotland could I have had no free nor sure accesse, being before exiled from the same by their unjust tyrannie.

And last, To me they nether could nor can be competent and indifferent judges; for that, before any sommondes were raised against me, I had accused them by my lettres published to the Quene Dowagier, and had intended against them all crimes, offring my selfe, with hasard of life, to prove the same; for the which they are not onlie unworthie of ecclesiasticall auctoritie, but also of any sufferance within a communewelthe professing Christ. This my accusation preceding their sommondes, neither by the law of God, neither yet by the law of man, can they be to me competent judges, till place be granted unto me openlie to prove my accusation intended against them, and they be compelled to make answer as criminalls. For I will plainelie prove, that not onlie Bishoppes, but also Popes, have been removed from all auctoritie, and pronouncing of judgement, till they have purged themselves of accusations layd against them. Yea further I will prove, that Bishoppes and Popes most

justly have bene deprived from all honours and administration, for smaller crimes then I have to charge the hole rable of your bishoppes.

Goddes messingers may appeal from unjust sentences, and Civile powers are bound to admit them.

But because this is not my chefe grounde, I wil stand content for this present to shew, that lawfull it is to Goddes Prophetes, and to preachers of Christ Jesus, to Appeall from the sentence and judgement of the visible Church to the knolledge of the temporall Magistrate, who by Goddes law is bound to hear their causes, and to defend them from tyrannie.

The Propheto Jeremie was commanded by God to stand in the courte of the house of the Lord, and to preach this sermon in effect, That Jerusalem should be distroyed, and be exponed in opprobrie to all nations of the earth; and that also that famous Temple of God should be made desolate like unto Sylo, because the preestes, the prophetes, and the people did not walk in the Law which God had proposed unto them, neither wold they obey the voyces of the prophetes whome God sent to call them to repentance.

Jer. 26.

For this sermon was Jeremie apprehended, and a sentence of death was pronounced against hym, and that by the preestes, by the prophetes, and by the people; which thinges being bruted in the eares of the Princes of Juda, they passed up from the Kinges house to the temple of the Lord, and sat down in judgement, for further knowledge of the cause. But the preestes and prophetes continued in theyre cruell sentence, which before they had pronounced, saying, "This man is worthie of the death; for he hath prophesied against this citie, as your eares have hard." But Jeremy, so moved by the Holie Ghost, began this defence against that their tyrannous sentence, in these wordes: "The Lord (saith he) hath sent me to prophetie against this house, and against this citie, all the wordes which you have hard. Now therefore make good your wayes, and hear the voyce of the Lord your God, and then shall he repent of the evill whiche he hath spoken against you. As for me, behold I am in your handes (so doth he speak to the Princes),

Advert.

do to me as you think good and righteous. Nevertheles know you this most assuredly, that if ye murther or sley me, ye shall make yourselves, this citie, and the inhabitants of the same, criminall, and gyltie of innocent blood. For of a trueth the Lord hath sent me to speak in your eares all those wordes."

Then the princes and the people (saieth the text) said, "This man is not worthie of death, for he hath spoken to us in the name of the Lord our God." And so after somme contention was the Prophete delivered from that danger. This fact and historie manefestly proveth whatsoever before I have affirmed, to wit, that it is laufull for the servantes of God to call for the help of the Civile Magistrate against the sentence of death, if it be unjust, by whome soever it be pronounced, and also that the Civile sword hath power to represse the furie of the preests, and to absolve whome thei have condemned. For the Prophete of God was damned by those who then only in earthe were knowen to be the visible Churche, to wit, preests and prophetes who then were in Jerusalem, the successours of Aaron, to whome was geven a charge to speak to the people in the name of God, and a precept geven to the people to heare the Lawe from their mouthes, to the which if any should be rebellious or inobedient he should die the death without mercie. These men, I say, thus auctorised by God, first did excommunicat Jeremie, for that he did preache otherwise then did the commune sort of prophetes in Jerusalem, and last apprehended him, as you have hard, pronouncing against hym this sentance afore writen; from the which nevertheles the Prophete appealed, that is, sought help and defence against the same, and that most earnestly did he crave of the Princes. For albeit he saieth, "I am in your handes, do with me as ye think righteous," he doth not contemne nor neglect his life, as thoghe he regarded not what should become of hym; but in those his wordes most vehementlie did he admonishe the Princes and Rulers of the people, geving them to understand what God should require of them. As he should say, You Princes of

The Princes did absolve the Prophet whome the Preests had condemned.

Deute. 17.

The meanyng of these wordes, "I am in your hands," &c. Deut. 17. Jerem. I. Deu. 1, 10.

Juda, and Rulers of the people, to whom appertaineth indifferentlie to judge betwixt partie and partie, to justifie the just man, and to condemne the malefactour, you have hard a sentence of death pronounced against me by those whose lippes oght to speak no decept, because they are sanctified and appointed by God hymselfe to speake his law and to pronounce judgement with equitie; but as they have left the living God, and have taught the people to follow vanitie, so are they becommed mortall ennemies to all Gods true servantes, of whom I am one, rebuking theire iniquitie, apostasie, and defection from God, which is the onlie cause they seke my life. But a thing most contrarie to all equitie, law, and justice it is, that I, a man sent of God to call them, this people, and you, againe to the true service of God, from the which you are all declined, shall suffer the death, because that my ennemies do so pronounce sentence. I stand in your presence, whome God hath made Princes, your power is above their tyrannie, before you do I expone my cause, I am in your handes, and can not resist to suffer what ye think just. But lest that my lenitie and patience should either make you negligent in the defence of me in my just cause, appealing to your judgement, either yet encorrage my ennemies in seakinge my blood, this one thinge I dar not conceale:[1] That if you murther me (which thing ye do if ye defend me not), ye make not only my ennemies gyltie of my blood, but also yourselves, and this hole citie. By these wordes, I say, it is evident that the Prophete of God being damned to death, by the preestes and by the prophetes of the visible Churche, did seke aid, support, and defence at the Princes and Temporall Magistrates, threatnyng his blood to be required of theyre handes, if they by theyre auctoritie did not defend hym from the furie of his ennemies: alledging also just causes of his Appellation, and why he oght to have bene defended: to wit, that he was sent of God to rebuke theire vices and defection from God; that he taught no doctrine which God before had

The causes of his Appellation, and why he oght to have bene defended.

[1] In the orig. "consile."

not pronounced in his Law; that he desired theyre conversion to God, continuallie calling upon them to walk in the wayes which God had approved, and therefore doth he boldlie crave of the Princes, as of Goddes lieutenantes, to be defended from the blynd rage and tyrannie of the Preests, notwithstanding that they claimed to themselves auctoritie to judge in all matters of Religion. And the same did he what tyme he was cast in pryson, and thereafter was brought to the presence of King Zedechias. After, I say, that he had defended his innocencie, affirmyng that he neither had offended against the King, against his servantes, nor against the people, at last he made intercession to the King for his life, saying, Jerem. 38.

"But now, my Lord the King, take hede, I beseche thee, let my prayer fall in to thy presence, commaund me not to be caried againe in to the house of Jonathan the scribe, that I dye not there."

And the text witnesseth that the King commaunded the place of his imprysonment to be chaunged. Whereof it is evident, that the Prophet did ofter then once seke help at the Civile power; and that fyrst the Princes, and there after the King, did acknowledge, that it appertained to their office to deliver him from the unjust sentence which was pronounced against him. Yf any thinke that Jeremie did not appeall, becaus he onely declared the wronge done unto him, and did but crave defence, according to his innocencie; let the same man understand, that none otherwise do I appeale from that fals and cruell sentence which your Byshoppes have pronounced against me. Neither yet can there be any other just cause of appellation but innocencie hurt, or suspected to be hurt, whether it be by ignorance of a judge, or by malice and corruption of those who, under the title of justice, do exercise tyrannie. If I were a thefe, murtherer, blasphemer, open adulterer, or any offender, whome God's Worde commaundeth to suffer for a crime committed, my Appellation were vaine, and to be rejected; but I being innocent, yea, the doctrine which your Byshoppes Just cause of Appellation.

have condemned in me being God's eternall veritie, have no lesse libertie to crave your defence against that crueltie, then had the Prophet Jeremie to seke the ayde of the Princes and King of Juda. But this shall more plainly appear in the facte of Sainct Paule, who, after that he was apprehended in Jerusalem, did fyrst claime to the libertie of Romayne citezens, for avoiding torment, what tyme that the Captayn would have examined hym by questions; there after in the councile, where no righteous judgement was to be hoped for, he affirmed that he was a Pharisie, and that he was accused of[1] the resurrection of the dead; and last, in the presence of Festus, he appealed from all knowledge and judgement of the Preestes at Jerusalem to the Emperour: of which last point, because it doth chefelie appertaine to this my cause, I will somwhat speak.

Act. 22, 23, 24, & 25.

After that Paule had diverse tymes bene accused, as in the Acts of the Apostles is manifest, at the last the chefe Preestes and theyre faction came to Cesarea, with Festus the president, who presented to them Paule in judgement, whome they accused of horrible crimes; which nevertheles they could not prove, the Apostle defending, That he had not offended neither against the Law, neither against the Temple, neither yet against the Emperour.

But Festus, willing to gratifie the Jewes, said to Paule, "Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these thinges in my presence? But Paule said, I stand at the justice seat of the Emperour, where it behoveth me to be judged: I have done no injurie to the Jewes, as thou better knowest. Yf I have done any thing unjustly, or yet committed crime worthie of death, I refuse not to die. But if there be nothing of these thinges true whereof they accuse me, no man may geve me to them: I appeall to Cesar."

Act. 25.

It may appear at the first sight, that Paule did great injurie to Festus the judge, and to the hole order of the preesthood, who did hope greater equitie in a cruell tyrant, then in all that

[1] The word *preaching* or *maintaining*, seems to be wanting.

session and learned companie. Which thinge no doubt Festus did understand, pronouncing these wordes, "Hast thou appealed to Cesar? Thou shalt go to Cesar." As he would say, I as a man willing to understand the truth, before I pronounce sentence, have required of thee to go to Jerusalem, where the learned of thyne owne nation may heare thy cause, and decerne in the same. The controversie standith in matters of religion: Thou art accused as an apostatat from the law, as a violator of the temple, and transgressor of the traditions of theyre fathers, in which matters I am ignorant; and therefore desire information by those that be learned in the same religion whereof the question is. And yet doest thou refuse so many godly fathers to hear thy cause, and doest appeale to the Emperour, preferring hym to all our judgements, of no purpose belike but to delay tyme. Thus, I say, it myght have appeared that Paule did not only injurie to the judge and to the preestes, but also that his cause was greatly to be suspected; partly for that he did refuse the judgement of those that had moste knowledge (as all men supposed) of Gods will and religion; and partly because he appealed to the Emperour, who then was at Rome, farr absent from Jerusalem, a man also ignorant of God and ennemie to all vertue. But the Apostle, considering the nature of his ennemies, and what thinges they had intended against hym, even from the fyrst day that he began freelie to speak in the name of Christ, did not fear to appeale from them, and from the judge that would have gratified them. They had professed themselves plain ennemies to Christ Jesus, and to his blessed Evangill, and had soght the death of Paule, yea, even by factions and treasonable conspiracie; and therefore by no meanes would he admit them either judges in his cause, either auditours of the same, as Festus required; but grounding him selfe upon strong reasons, to wit, that he had not offended the Jewes, neither yet the Law, but that he was innocent; and therefore that no judge oght to geve hym in the handes of his ennemies: Grounding, I say, his Appellation upon these rea-

Why Paule w admytt none the Levitical ordre to judg his cause.

Upon what re sons the Appe tion of Paule grounded.

sons, he neither regarded the displeasure of Festus, neither yet the brute of the ignorant multitude; but boldely did appeal, from all cognition of them, to the judgement of the Emperour, as said is. By these two examples, I dout not but your Honours do understand, that lawfull it is to the servantes of God, oppressed by tyrannie, to seke remedie against the same, be it by appellation from theire sentence, or by imploring the helpe of Civile Magistrates. For what God hath approved in Jeremie and Paul, he can condemne in none that likewise be entreated. I might alledge some histories of the primative Church serving to the same purpose: as of Ambrose and Athanasius, of whom the one would not be judged but at Millan, where that his doctrine was hard of all his Church, and receaved and approved by many; and the other would in no wise geve place to those councils, where he knew that men conspired against the trueth of God should sit in judgement and consultatione. But because the Scriptures of God are my only fundation and assurance, in all matters of weight and importance, I have thoght the two former testimonies sufficient, aswell to prove my Appellation reasonable and just, as to declare to your Honours that with safe conscience ye can not refuse to admit the same. Yf any thinke it arrogancie or foolishnes in me to compare my selfe with Jeremie and Paule, let the same man understand, that as God is immutable, so is the veritie of his glorious Evangill of equall dignitie, whensoever it is impugned, be the membres suffering never so weak. What I think touching myne owne person, God shall reveale when the secrets of all hartes shall be disclosed; and such as with whome I have bene conversant can partly witnesse what arrogancie or pryde they espie in me. But touching the doctrine and cause which that adulterous and pestilent generation of Antichrist's servants (who wilbe called Byshoppes amongst you) have condemned in me, I neither fear nor shame to confesse and avow, before man and Angell, to be the Eternall trueth of the Eternall God. And in that case, I dout not to compare my selfe with any

The cause is to be regarded, and not the person.

membre in whome the trueth hath bene impugned sence the begynnyng. For as it was the trueth which Jeremie did preach in these wordes:

"The Preestes have not knowen me (saieth the Lord), but the Pastors have traiterously declined and fallen back from me. The Prophetes have prophesied in Baal, and have gone after those things which can not helpe. My people have left the fontaine of living waters, and have digged to themselves pits which can containe no water." Jerem. 2. Jerem. 1.

As it was a trueth that the pastors and watchmen, in the daies of Isaie, were becomed domme dogs, blynd, ignorant, proud, and avaricious. And finally, as it was a trueth that the Princes and the Preestes were murtherers of Christ Jesus, and cruell persecutors of his Apostles; so likewyse it is a trueth (and that moste infallible), that those that have condemned me (the hole rable of the Papisticall clergie) have declyned from the true faith, have geven eare to deceavable spirits and to doctrine of devils; are the sterres fallen from the heaven to the earth; are fontaines without water; and finally are ennemies to Christ Jesus, deniers of his vertue,[1] and horrible blasphemours of his death and passion. And further, as that visible Churche had no crime whereof justly they could accuse either the Prophetes, either the Apostles, except theyr doctrine only; so have not such as seke my blood other crime to lay to my charge, except that I affirm, as alwais I offer to prove, that the Religion which now is maintained by fier and sword is no lesse contrarious to the true religion taught and established by the Apostles, then is darknes to light, or the Devill to God; and also, that such as now do claime the title and name of the Churche ar no more the elect spouse of Christ Jesus, then was the Synagoge of the Jewes the true Church of God, what tyme it crucified Christ Jesus, damned his doctrine, and persecuted his Apostles. And therefore seing that my battail is against the proude and cruell hypocrites of this age, as that battail of Isa. 56. Act. 3 & 4. 1 Tim. 4. Jude 1. 2 Pet. 3. Let the cause be noted.

[1] "Vertue," evidently a misprint for *verity*.

those most excellent instrumentes was against the fals prophetes and malignant Church of theyr ages; neither ought any man think it strange, that I compare my self with them, with whome I sustaine a common cause; neither ought you, my Lordes, judge your selves lesse addetted and bound to me, calling for your support, then did the Princes of Juda think them selves bounde to Jeremie, whome for that tyme they delivered, notwithstanding the sentence of death pronounced against him by the visible Church. And thus much for the right of my Appellation, which in the bowelles of Christ Jesus I requier your Honours not to esteme as a thing superfluous and vaine; but that ye admitt it, and also accept me in your protection and defence, that by you assured I may have accesse to my Native countrie, which I never offended; to the end, that freely and openly, in the presence of the hole realme, I may geve my Confession of all such pointes as this day be in controversie; and also that you, by your auctoritie which ye have of God, compell such as of long tyme have blynded and deceaved both your selves and the people, to answer to such thinges as shalbe laide to theire charge. But lest that somme dout remayne, that I require more of you then you of conscience ar bound to graunt, in few wordes, I hope to prove my petition to be such as without God's heavy displeasure ye can not deny. My Petition is, That ye whome God hath appointed heades in your commune welth, with single eye do studie to promote the glorie of God; to provide that your subjects be rightly instructed in his true religion; that they be defended from all oppression and tirannie; that true teachers may be maintained, and such as blynde and deceave the people, togyther also with all idle bellies, which do robbe and oppresse the flock, may be removed and punished as God's Law prescribeth. And to the performance of every one of these do your offices and names, the honours and benefites which ye receve, the Law of God universally geven to all men, and the examples of moste godlie princes, bynde and oblish you.

Answer to an objection or dout.

The Petition of John Knoxe.

My purpose is not greatly to labour to prove, that your hole

studie oght to be to promote the glorie of God; neither yet will I studie to alledge all reasons, that justly may be broght to prove, that ye are not exalted to reigne above your brethren, as men without care and solicitude. For these be principals so grafted in nature, that verie Ethnicks have confessed the same. For seing that God only hath placed you in his chaire, hath appointed you to be his lieutenantes, and by his owne seall hath marked you to be Magistrates, and to rule above your brethren, to whom nature, nevertheles, hath made you lyke in all points, (for in conception, birth, life, and death, ye differ nothing from the commune sort of men, but God only, as said is, hath promoted you, and of his especial favour hath geven unto you this prerogative to be called Gods); how horrible ingratitude were it then, that you should be founde unfaithful to hym that thus hath honored you? And further, what a monster were it, that you should be proved unmerciful to them above whome ye are appointed to reigne, as fathers above theyre children? Because I say, that verie Ethnicks have granted, that the cheefe and fyrst care of Princes, and of such as be appointed to rule above others, oght to be to promote the glorie and honour of theyr goddes, and to maintaine that religion whiche they supposed to have bene true. And that theyre second care was to maintaine and defend the subjects committed to theyre charge in all equitie and justice. I will not labour to shew unto you what oght to be your studie in maintainyng God's true honour, lest that in so doing I should seme to make you lesse careful over God's true religion, then were the Ethnickes over theire idolatrie. But because other petitions may appere more hard and difficile to be granted, I purpose brefely, but yet freely, to speak what God by his Worde doth assure me to be true: To wit, fyrst, That in conscience you are bounde to punysh malefactors, and to defende innocents, imploringe your helpe. Secondarely, That God requireth of you to provide, that your subjects be rightly instructed in his true religion; and that the same by you be reformed whensoever

The singular honours which Magistrates receive of God oght to move them with all diligence to promote his Religion.

The Duties of Magistrates.

abuses do crepe in, by malice of Satan, and negligence of men. And laste, That ye are bounde to remove from honour, and to punish with death (if the crime so require) such as deceave the people, or defraude them of that foode of theyre soules, I meane God's lively Worde.

The fyrst and seconde are moste playne, by the wordes of S. Paule, thus speaking of lawfull powers:

Rom. 13. "Let everie soule (saieth he) submit hymselfe unto the hygher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receave to themselves damnation. For rulers ar not to be feared of those that do well, but of those that do evill. Wilt thou then be without fear of the power? do that which is good, and so shalt thou be praised of the same: for he is the minister of God for thy welth. But if thou do that which is evil, fear: for he beareth not the sword for noght: for he is the minister of God, to take vengance on them that do evil."

As the Apostle in these wordes moste straytly commaundeth obedience to be geven to lawfull powers, pronouncing God's wrathe and vengance against such as shall resist the ordonaunce of God; so dothe he assigne to the powers theyre offices, which be to take vengeance upon evil doers, to maintaine the well doers, and so to ministre and rule in theyr office, that the subjectes by them may have a benefite, and be praised in well doing. Now, if you be powers ordeined by God (and that I hope all men will graunte), then, by the plaine wordes of the Apostle, is the sworde geven unto you by God, for maintenance of the innocent, and for punyshement of malefactors. But I and my brethren with me accused do offre not only to prove ourselves innocents in all thinges laid to our charge, but also we offre most evidently to prove your Byshoppes to be the verie pestilence who have infected all Christianitie. And therefore, by the plaine doctrine of the Apostle, you ar bounde to maintaine us, and to punysh the other, being evidently convict and proved

criminall. Moreover, the former words of the Apostle do teach, how far hie powers be bounde to theyre subjects: to wit, That because they are God's ministers, by him ordained for the profitt and utilitie of others, most diligently oght they to intend upon the same. For that cause assigned the Holie Ghost, commaunding subjects to obey and pay tribute; saying, "For this do you pay tribute and toll:"

In what pointes be Powers bounde to theyre subjectes.

Rom. 13.

That is, because they are God's ministers, bearing the sworde for your utility. Wherof it is plaine, that there is no honour without a charge annexed. And this one point I wishe your Wisdomes depely to consider, that God hath not placed you above your brethren to reigne as tyrantes without respect of theyre profitt and commoditie. You heare the Holie Ghost witnesse the contrarie, affirmyng, that all lawfull powers be God's ministers, ordened for the welth, profitt, and salvation of their subjects, and not for theyre destruction. Could it be said (I beseeh you) that Magistrates, inclosing theyre subjects in a citie without all victuales, or geving unto them no other victuales but such as were poisoned, did rule for the profitt of theyr subjectes? I trust that none would be so foolishe as so to affirme; but that rather everie discrete person would boldly affirm, that such as so did were tyrantes unworthie of all regiment. Yf we will not deny that whiche Christ Jesus affirmeth to be a trueth infallible; to wit, that the soule is greater and more pretious then is the bodie: then shall we easely espye, how unworthie of auctoritie be those that this day debarre theyre subjectes from the hearing of God's Worde, and by fier and sworde compell them to feede upon the verie poison of theyre soules, the damnable doctrine of Antichrist. And therefore in this point, I say, I can not cease to admonish your Honours, diligently to take heede over your charge, which is greater then the most parte of men suppose. It is not ynough that you abstaine from violent wrong and oppression, which ungodlie men exercise against theyr subjectes; but ye are further bounde, to witt, that ye rule above them for theyre welth; which ye can

Let the similitude be noted.

It is not inough that Rulars oppresse not theyre subjects.

not do, if that ye either by negligence, not providing true pastors, or yet by your maintainance of such as be ravening wolves, suffer theyre soules to sterve and perishe, for lack of the true foode, which is Christes Evangill syncerely preached. It will not excuse you in his presence, who will require accompte of everie talent committed to your charge, to say, that ye supposed that the charge of the soules had bene committed to your Byshoppes. No, no, my Lordes, so ye cannot escape God's judgement. For if your Byshoppes be proved to be no Byshoppes, but deceavable theves and ravenyng wolves, (which I offer my selfe to prove by God's Word, by Law and Councils, yea by the judgement of all the godly learned from the primative Church to this day), then shall your permission and defence of them be reputed before God, a participation with theyre thefte and murther. For thus accused the Prophete Esaie the Princes of Jerusalem: "Thy Princes," saith he, "ar apostatats;" that is, obstinat refusers of God, "and they ar companions of theves."

THE OFFER OF JOHN KNOX, AND HIS ACCUSATION INTENDED AGAINST THE PAPISTICAL BYSSHOPPES.

Esaie 1.

This grevous accusation was laid against them, albeit that they ruled in that citie which sometyme was called Holy, where then were the Temple, rites, and ordonances of God: because that not onlie they were wicked themselves, but chefely because they maintained wicked men theyr preestes and fals prophetes in honours and auctoritie. Yf they did not escape this accusation of the Holie Ghost in that age, looke ye neither to escape the accusation nor the judgement which is pronounced against the maintainars of wicked men; to wit, that the one and the other shall drinck the cuppe of God's wrathe and vengance togither. And lest ye should deceave yourselves, esteming your Byshoppes to be vertuous and godlie, this do I affirme, and offer myself to prove the same, that more wicked men then be the hole rabble of your clergie, were never from the begynning universally knowen in any age; yea, Sodome and Gomorra may be justified in theyre respect. For they permitted just Lot to dwell amongest them without any violence done to his bodie, which that pestilent generation of your shaven sort doth

Jerem 23 & 27. Ezech. 13. Hosa 4.

not, but moste cruelly persecute by fier and sworde the true members of Christes bodie, for no other cause but for the true service and honoring of God. And therefore I fear not to affirme, that which God shall one day justifie, that by your offices ye be bound, not only to represse theyr tyrannie, but also to punishe them as theves and murtherers, as idolators and blasphemers of God, and in their roumes ye are bounde to place true preachers of Christ's Evangile, for the instruction, comfort, and salvation of your subjectes, above whome els shall never the Holy Ghost acknowledge that you rule in justice for their proffit. Yf yee pretend to possesse the kingdome with Christ Jesus, yee may not take example neither by the ignorant multitude of Princes, neither by the ungodly and cruell rulers of the earth, of whome some passe theyre tyme in slouth, insolencie, and ryote, without respect had to Goddes honour, or to the salvation of theyre brethren, and other moste cruelly oppresse, with proude Nimrod, such as be subject to them. But your pattern and example must be the practise of those whome God hath approved by the testimonie of his Worde, as after shalbe declared.

NOTE. Yf Powers provide not for instruction of theyre Subjects, they do never rule above them for theyre profit.

Of the premisses it is evident, that to lawfull powers is geven the sworde for punyshement of malefactors, for maintenance of innocents, and for the profitt and utilitie of theyr subjects. Now let us consider, whether the reformation of religion fallen in decay, and punyshment of false teachers, do appertaine to the Civile Magistrate and Nobilitie of any realme. I am not ignorant that Satan of old tyme, for mentainance of his darknes, hath obtained of the blynd world two chefe points. Former, he hath persuaded to Princes, Rulers, and Magistrates, that the feeding of Christes flock appertaineth nothing to theyre charge, but that it is rejected[1] upon the Byshoppes and estate ecclesiasticall: and secondarelie, that the reformation of religion, be it never so corrupt, and the punishement of such as be sworne souldiers in theyre kingdome, are exempted from all

What Satan hath obtained of the blind world.

[1] "Rejected," devolved.

civile power, and are reserved to themselves and to theyre own cognition. But that no offender can justly be exempted from punyshement, and that the ordering and reformation of religion, with the instruction of subjects, doth especially appertaine to the Civile Magistrate, shall Goddes perfect ordonaunce, his plaine Worde, and the facts and examples of those that of God are highly praised, most evidently declare.

The matters and reformation of Religion appertain: to the care of the Civile Power. Exod. 21, 24, 25.

When God did establish his Law, statutes, and ceremonies in the middest of Israel, he did not exempt the matters of religion from the power of Moses; but as he gave hym charge over the civile politie, so he put in his mouth and in his hand: that is, he fyrst revealed to hym, and thereafter commaunded to put in practise whatsoever was to be taught or done in matters of religion. Nothing did God reveale particularly to Aaron, but altogither was he commaunded to depend from the mouth of Moses: Yea, nothing was he permitted to do to hymself or to his children either, in his or theyr inauguration and sanctification to the preesthode, but all was committed to the care of Moses, and therefore were these wordes so frequently repeted to Moses:

Note.

Exod. 28.

"Thou shalt seperate Aaron, and his sonnes, from the middest of the people of Israel, that they may execute the office of the preesthode: Thou shalt make unto them garments, thou shalt annoynte them, thou shalt wash them, thou shalt fill theyr handes with the sacrifice."

And so furth, of everie rite and ceremonie that was to be done unto them, especiall commaundement was geven unto Moses, that he should do it. Now if Aaron and his sonnes were so subject to Moses, that they did nothing but at his commaundement, who dar be so bold as to affirme, that the Civile Magistrate hath nothing to do in matters of religion! For seing that then God did so straytly require, that even those who did beare the figure of Christ should receave from the civile power, as it were, theyre sanctification and entrance to theyr office; and seing also that Moses was so far preferred

to Aaron, that the one commaunded and the other did obey; who dar esteme that the civile power is now becomed so prophane in God's eyes, that it is sequestred from all intromission with the matters of religion? The Holie Ghost in divers places declareth the contrarie. For one of the chefe precepts commaunded to the King, when that he should be placed in his throne, was to write the example of the boke of the Lordes Law, that it should be with hym, that he might read in it all the daies of his life, that he might learn to fear the Lord his God, and to kepe all the wordes of his Law, and his statutes to do them. This precept requireth, not onlye that the King should hymselfe fear God, kepe his Law and statutes, but that also he, as the chefe ruler, should provide that Goddes true religion should be kept inviolated of the people and flock, which by God was committed to his charge. And this did not onlie David and Salomon perfectly understand, but also some godlie kinges in Juda, after the apostasie and idolatrie that infected Israel by the meanes of Jeroboam, did practise theyre understanding, and execute theyre power in some notable reformations. For Asa and Josaphat, kinges in Juda, fynding the religion altogither corrupt, did applie theyre heartes (saith the Holie Ghost) to serve the Lord, and to walk in his wayes: and thereafter doth witnes, that Asa removed from honours his mother, some say grandmother, because shee had committed and laboured to mentaine horrible idolatrie. And Josaphat did not only refuse strange Goddes hymselfe, but also distroying the chefe monuments of idolatrie, did send furth the Levites to instruct the people, whereof it is playne, that the one and the other did understand suche reformations to appertaine to theire dueties. But the factes of Ezechias, and of Josias, do more clerely prove the power and duetie of the Civile Magistrate in the reformation of religion. Before the reign of Ezechias, so corrupt was the religion that the dores of the house of the Lord were shut upp, the lampes were extinguished, no sacrifice was orderly made; but in the first year of his reigne, the first

The factes of godlie Kings an interpretation of the Law and declaration of theyre Power.

2 Paral. 14 & 1

Nota.

2 Paralip. 29.

moneth of the same, did the King open the dores of the Temple, bring in the Preestes and Levites, and assembling them togither, did speak unto them as followeth: "Hear me, O yee Levites, and be sanctified now, and sanctifie also the house of the Lord God of your fathers, and carie furth from the sanctuarie all filthynes (he meaneth all monuments and vesselles of idolatrie): For our fathers have transgressed, and have committed wickednes in the eyes of the Eternall, our God; they have left hym, and have turned theyre faces from the tabernacle of the Lord, and therefore is the wrath of the Lord commed upon Juda and Jerusalem. Behold, our fathers have fallen by the sworde, our sonnes, daughters, and wifes are led in captivitie. But now have I purposed in my heart to make a covenante with the Lord God of Israel, that he may turne the wrath of his furie from us. And therefore, my sonnes, (he swetely exhorteth) be not faint: for the Lord hath chosen you to stand in his presence, and to serve hym."

Advert that the Kinge taketh upon him to command the Preestes.

Such as be not more then blynd, clerely may perceave that the King dothe acknowledge, that it appertained to his charge to reforme the religion, to appoint the Levites to theyre charges, and to admonish them of theyre duetie and office, which thing he more evidently declareth, writing his lettres to all Israel, to Ephraim, and Manasses, and sent the same by the handes of messingers, having this tenour:

Pa. 30. "You sonnes of Israel, return to the Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, and he shall return to the residue that resteth from the handes of Assur. Be not as your fathers, and as your brethren were, who have transgressed against the Lord God of theyre fathers, who hath made them desolate, as you see. Hold not your heart therefore, but give your hand unto the Lord; return unto his sanctuarie; serve hym and he shall shew mercie unto you, to your sonnes, and doughters that be in bondage: for he is pitifull and easie to be entreated."

Thus far did Ezechias by lettres and messingers provoke the people declined from God to repentance, not only in Juda where

he reigned laufull King, but also in Israel, subject then to another King. And albeit that by some wicked men his messingers were mocked, yet as they lacked not theyre just punishment, (for within sixe yeares after Samaria was destroyed and Israel led captive by Salmanazar), so did not the zelous King Ezechias desist to prosecute his duetie in restoring the religion to God's perfecte ordenance, removing all abominations. Note.

The same is to be read[1] of Josias, who did not only restore the religion, but did further distroy all monuments of idolatrie, which of long tyme had remained. For it is written of him, that after that the Boke of the Law was found, and that he had asked counsel at the Prophetesse Hulda, he sente and gathered all the elders of Juda and Jerusalem, and standing in the temple of the Lord, he made a covenant[2] that all the people, from the great to the small, should walk after the Lord, should observe his law, statutes, and testimonies, with all theyre heart and all theyre soule, and that they should ratifie and confirme what soever was written in the Boke of God. He further commaunded Helkias the Hie preest, and the preestes of the inferiour order, that they should carie furth of the temple of the Lord all the vessels that were made to Baal, which he burnt and did carie theire pouder to Bethel. He did further distroy all monuments of idolatrie, yea, even those that had remained from the dayes of Salomon. He did burn them, stampe them to powder, whereof one part he scattered in the brooke[3] Kidron, and the other upon the sepulcres and graves of the idolaters, whose bones he did burn upon the altars, where before they made sacrifice, not only in Juda, but also in Bethel, where Jeroboam had erected his idolatrie; yea he further proceded, and did kyll the Preestes of the hie places, who were idolaters and had deceaved the people: he did kyll them, I say, and did burn theyre bones upon theyre owne altars, and so returned to Jerusalem. This reformation made Josias, and for the same obtained this testimonie of the Holie Ghost, that neither be- 2 Par. 34. 2 Reg. 22. The King commaunded the Preestes.

[1] In the orig., "red." [2] Ib. "convenant." [3] Ib. "broke."

fore hym, neither after him, was there any such king, who returned to God with his whole[1] soule, and with all his strengthe, according to all the Law of Moses.

Of which histories it is evident, that the Reformation of religion in all points, togither with the punishement of false teachers, doth appertaine to the power of the Civile Magistrate. For what God required of them, his justice must require of others, having the like charge and auctoritie: what he did approve in them, he can not but approve in all others, who with like zeale and synceritie do interprise to purge the Lordes temple and sanctuarie. What God required of them, it is before declared, to wit, that most diligently they should observe his law, statutes, and ceremonies. And how acceptable were
2 Par. 32. theyre factes to God doth he himselfe witnesse. For to some[2] he gave most notable victories without the hande of man, and in theyre most desperat daungers, did declare his especiall favours towardes them by signes supernaturall: to others[3] he so established the kingdome, that theyre ennemies were compelled to stoupe under theyre feete. And the names of all he hath regestred not only in the boke of life, but also in the blessed remembrance of all posteritie sence theyre daies, which also shall continue till the commyng of the Lord Jesus, who shall rewarde with the crowne of immortalitie, not only them, but also such as unfaynedly studie to do the will and to promote the glorie of his hevenlie Father, in the middest of this corrupted generation. In consideration whereof ought you, my Lordes, all delay set apart, to provide for the reformation of religion in your dominions and boundes, which now is so corrupt, that no part of Christes institution remaineth in the original puritie; and therefore of necessitie it is, that spedely ye provide for reformation, or els ye declare your selves, not only voyde of love towardes your subjects, but also to live without care of your owne salvation, yea, without all feare and true reverence of God. Two thinges perchance may move you to

[1] In the orig., "hole." [2] Ib. "somme." [3] Ib. "other."

esteme these histories, before brevely tuiched, to appertaine nothing to you. Fyrst, because you are no Jewes but Gentiles: and secondarely, because you are no kinges, but nobiles in your realm. But be not deceaved, for neither of both can excuse you in Goddes presence from doing your dutie, for it is a thing more then certein, that whatsoever God required of the Civile Magistrate in Israel or Juda concernyng the observation of true religion during the tyme of the Law, the same doth he require of lawfull Magistrates professing Christ Jesus in the tyme of the Gospell, as the Holie Ghost hath taught us by the mouth of David, saying, Psal. 2, "Be learned you that judge the earth, kysse the Sonne, lest that the Lord waxe angrie, and that yee perish from the way."

The factes of the godlie Kinges in Juda do appertain to the Powers among the Gentiles professing Christ.

This admonition did not extend to the judges under the Law only, but doth also include all such as be promoted to honours in the tyme of the Gospell, when Christ Jesus doth reigne and feight in his spirituall kyngdome, whose ennemies in that Psalme be fyrst most sharply taxed, theyr furie expressed, and vanitie mocked; and then are kings and judges, who think themselves free from all law and obedience, commaunded to repent theyre former blynde rage, and judges are charged to be learned; and last are all commaunded to serve the Eternall in feare, to rejoyce before hym in tremblyng, to kysse the Sonne, that is, to geve unto hym most humble obedience, whereof it is evident that the Rulers, Magistrats,and Judges, now in Christes kingdome, are no lesse bound to obedience unto God, then were those under the Law. And how is it possible that any shall be obedient who dispise his religion, in which standeth the chefe glorie that man can geve to God, and is a service which God especially requireth of Kings and Rulers! Which thing Saint Augustine plainely did note, writing to one Bonifacius, a man of warr, according to the same argument and purpose, which I labour to persuade your Honours. For after that he hath in that his epistle declared the difference betwixt the heresie of the Donatists and Arrians, and hath somwhat

Epist. 50.

spoken of theyr crueltie, he sheweth the way how theyr furie should and ought to be repressed, and that it is lawfull for the injustly afflicted to seke support and defence at godlie
rert. Magistrates. For thus he writeth, "Either must the veritie be kept close, or els must theyr crueltie be susteaned."

But if the veritie should be concealed, not only should none be saved nor delyvered by such silence, but also shoulde many be lost through theyr decept. But if by preaching of the veritie theyr furie should be provoked more to rage, and by that meanes yet some[1] were delyvered, and made stronge, yet should feare hinder many weaklings to folowe the veritie, if theyr rage be not stayed. In these fyrst wordes Augustine sheweth three reasons, Why the afflicted Church in those daies called for the help of the Emperour and of godlie Magistrates, against the furie of the persecuters.

rs Well. The fyrst, The veritie must be spoken, or ells mankind shall perish in errour.

The second, The veritie being plainlie spoken, provoketh the adversaries to rage.

And because that some did alledge, that rather we oght to suffer all injurie, then to seke support by man, he addeth the third reason, to witt, That many weak ones be not able to suffer persecution and death for the truthes sake, to whome not the lesse respect oght to be had, that they may be won from errour, and so be brought to grater strength.

O that the Rulers of this age should ponder and wey the reasons of this godly writer, and provid the remedie, which he
ustine's rdes. requyreth in these wordes following: "Now when the Church was thus afflicted, yf any think, that rather they should have sustayned all calamitie, then that the helpe of God should have bene asked by Christian Emperours, he doth not well advert, that of such negligence no good comptes or reasons could be geven. For where such as would that no just lawes should be made against theyre impietie, alledge that the Apostles soght

[1] In the orig., "some" is always printed "somme."

no such thinges of the kinges of the earth, they do not consider that then the tyme was other then it is now, and that all things are done in theyr owne tyme. What Emperour then beleved in Christ, that should serve hym in making lawes for godlines against impietie?" While yet that saying of the Prophet was complete, "Why hath nations raged, and people have imagined vanitie? The Kinges of the earth have stand up, and Princes have convented together against the Lord, and against his annoynted;" that which is after said in the same Psalme was not yet comme to passe: "And now understand, O you Kinges, be learned, you that judge the earth; serve the Lord in fear, and rejoyce to hym with tremlinge." How do Kings serve the Lord in fear, but in punishing, and by a godlie severitie, forbidding those thinges which are done against the commaundement of the Lord? For otherwise doth he serve in so far as he is man, otherwise in so far as he is king. In so far as he is man, he serveth hym by living faithfully; but because he is also king, he serveth [by] establishing lawes that commaund the thinges that be just, and that with a convenient rigour forbyd thinges contrarie. As Ezechias served, distroying the groves, the temples of idols, and the places which were buylded against Goddes commaundement. So served also Josias doing the same: so served the King of [the] Ninivites, compelling the whole[1] citie to mitigate the Lord: so served Darius, geving in the power of Daniel the idol to be broken, and his ennemies to be cast to the lions: so served Nebucadnezer, by a terrible law, forbidding all that were in his realme to blaspheme God. Herein therefore do kinges serve the Lord in so far as they are kings, when they do those things to serve hym which none except kings be able to do. He further procedeth and concludeth, that as, when wicked kings do reign, impietie can not be brideled by lawes, but rather is tyrannie exercised under the title of the same; so is it a thing without all reason, that kinges professing the knowledge[2] and honour of God, should

Advert the m of Augustine.

In two sortes ought Kinges t serve God.

O that the w should unde stand!

[1] In the orig., "hole." [2] Ib. "knolledge."

not regard nor care who did defend, nor who did oppugne the Church of God in theyr dominions.

By these wordes of this auncient and godlie writer, your Honours may perceave what I require of you, to wit, to represse the tyrannie of your Byshoppes, and to defend the innocent professing the trueth. He did require of the Emperour and Kings of his daies professing Christ, and manifestly concludeth, that they can not serve Christ, except that so they do. Let not your Byshoppes thinke that Augustine speaketh for them, because he nameth the Church. Let them read and understand, that Augustine writeth for that Church which professeth the trueth, and doth suffer persecution for the defence of the same, which your Byshoppes do not, but rather, with the Donatists and Arrians, do cruelly persecute all such as boldly speak Christes eternall veritie, to manifest theyre impietie and abomination. But thus much we have of Augustine, that it appertaineth to the obedience and service which kinges owe to God, aswel now in the tyme of the Gospell as before under the Law, to defende the afflicted for matters of religion, and to represse the furie of the persecutors by the rigour and severitie of godlie lawes. For which cause, no doubt, doth Esaie the Prophete say, "That Kinges should be norishers to the Church of God, that they should abase their heades, and lovingly embrase the children of God." And thus, I say, your Honours may evidently see, that the same obedience doth God require of Rulers and Princes in the tyme of the Gospell, he required in the tyme of the Law.

Note.

Esaie 49.

An Answer to the Second Objection.

Yf you do think, that the Reformation of religion, and defence of the afflicted, doth not appertaine to you, because you are no Kings, but Nobils and Estates of a Realme; in two thinges you are deceaved; former, in that you do not advert that David requireth aswell, that the Princes and Judges of the earth be learned, and that they serve and fear God, as he requireth that the Kings repent. Yf you therefore be Judges and Princes,

as no man can deny you to be, then by the playn wordes of David, you are charged to be learned, to serve and fear God, which ye can not do, if you despise the reformation of his religion: And thys is your fyrst errour. The second is, that ye neither know your duetie, which ye owe to God, neither yet your auctoritie, which of him ye have receaved, yf ye for pleasure, or fear of any earthlie man, despise Goddes true religion, and contemne your brethren, that in his name cal for your support. Your dutie is to hear the voyce of the Eternal your God, and unfainedly to studie to folow his preceptes; who, as is before said, of especiall mercie hath promoted you to honours and dignitie. His chefe and principall precept is, that with reverence ye receave and embrace his onlie beloved Sonne Jesus; that ye promote, to the uttermost of your powers, his true religion; and that ye defend your brethren and subjectes whome he hath putt under your charge and care. Now if your King be a man ignorant of God, ennemie to his true religion, blinded by superstition, and a persecuter of Christes membres; shall yee be excused, if with silence yee passe over his iniquitie? Be not deceaved, my Lordes, ye are placed in auctoritie for an other purpose then to flatter your King in his folie and blind rage; to witt, that as with your bodies, strength, riches, and wisdomé, ye are bound to assist and defend him in all things, which by your advise he shall take in hand, for God's glorie, and for the preservation of his commune-wealth and subjects; so by your gravities, counsel, and admonition, yee are bound to correct and represse whatsoever ye know him to attempt expressedly repugning to Goddes Word, honour, and glorie, or what ye shall espie him to do, be it by ignorance, or be it by malice, against his subjectes great or small. Of which last part of your obedience, yf ye defraud your King, ye commit against him no lesse treason, then yf ye did extract from him your due and promised support, what time by his ennemies injustly he wer pursued. But this part of their duetie, I fear, do a small nomber of the Nobilitie of this

age rightly consider; neither yet will they understand, that for that purpose hath God promoted them. For now the commune song of al men is, We must obey our Kinges, be they good or be they bad; for God hath so commaunded. But horrible shall the vengeance be, that shalbe powred furth upon such blasphemers of God his holie name and ordinaunce. For it is no lesse blasphemie to say, that God hath commaunded Kinges to be obeyed, when they commaund impietie, then to say, that God by his precept is auctour and mentainer of all iniquitie. True it is, God hath commaunded Kinges to be obeyed, but like true it is, that in things which they commit against his glorie, or when cruelly without cause they rage against theire brethren, the members of Christes body, he hath commaunded no obedience, but rather he hath approved, yea, and greatlie rewarded such as have opponed themselves to theyre ungodly commaundementes and blind rage, as in the example of the Three children, of Daniel, and Abdemelech, it is evident. The Three children wold nether bowe nor stoupe before the golden image at the commaundement of the great King Nabuchadnezar. Daniel did openly pray, his windoes being open, against the established law of Darius and of his council: and Abdemelech feared not to enter in before the presence of Zedechias, and boldly to defend the cause and innocentie of Jeremie the Prophet, whome the King and his Council[1] had condemned to deth. Everie one of these factes should this day be judged foolishe by such as will not understand what confession God doth require of his children, when his veritie is oppugned, or his glorie called in doubt: such men, I say, as prefer man to God, and thinges present to the heavenlie inheritance, should have judged everie one of these factes, stubburn inobedience, foolishe presumption, and singularitie, or elles bold controlinge of the King and his wise Council. But how acceptable in God's presence was this resistance to the ungodlie commaundements and determinations of theyr King,

Jeremie 38.

[1] In the orig., "Council" is always printed "counsil."

the end did witnes. For the Three children were delivered from the fornace of fyer, and Daniel from the den of lions, to the confusion of their ennemies, to the better instruction of the ignorant kinges, and to the perpetuall comfort of Goddes afflicted children. And Abdemelech, in the day of the Lordes visitation, when the King and his Councill did drink the bitter cupp of Goddes vengeance, did fynde his life for a praye, and Jerem. 39. did not fall in the edge of the sword, when manie thousandes did perishe. And this was signified unto him by the Prophet himself at the commaundement of God, before that Jerusalem was destroyed. The promesse and cause were recited unto him in these wordes, "I will bring my wordes upon this citie unto evill, and not unto good: but most assuredly I shal deliver thee, because thou hast trusted in me, sayeth the Lord." The trust and hope, which Abdemelech had in God, made him bold to oppone himselfe, being but one, to the King and to his hole Councill, who had condemned to death the Prophet, whome his conscience did acknowledge to be innocent. For this did he speak in the presence of the King sitting in the port of Benjamin. "My Lord the King," saith Abdemelech, "these men do wickedly in all thinges that they have done to Jeremie the Prophet."

Advert and take hede, my Lordes, that the men, who had condemned the Prophet, were the King, his Princes, and Councill, and yet did one man accuse them all of iniquitie, and did boldly speak in the defense of him of whose innocencie he was persuaded. And the same, I say, is the duetie of every man in his vocation, but chefely of the Nobilitie, which is joyned with theyr Kinges, to bridel and represse theyr folie and blind rage. Which thing if the Nobilitie do not, neither yet labour to do, as they are traitours to their kings; so do they provoke the wrath of God against themselves and against the realme in which they abuse the auctoritie, which they have receaved of God, to mentaine vertue and to represse vice. For hereof I would your Honours

were most certainly persuaded, that God will neither excuse Nobilitie nor People, but the Nobilitie least of al, that obey and folow theyr Kinges in manifest iniquitie; but with the same vengeance will God punishe the Prince, People, and Nobilitie, conspiring togither against him and his holie ordenances; as in the punishment taken upon Pharao, Israel, Juda, and Babylon is evidently to be sene. For Pharao was not drowned alone, but his captayns, chareotes, and greate armie drank the same cup with him. The Kinges of Israel and Juda were not punished without compagny; but with them were murthered the councilers, theyre princes imprisoned, and their people ledd captive. And why! because none was found so faithful to God, that he durst enterprise to resist nor againstand the manifest impietie of theyr Princes. And therefore was God's wrath powred furth upon the one and the other. But the more ample discourse of this argument I deffer to better opportunitie: onely at this tyme, I thoght expedient to admonysh you, that before God it shall not excuse you to alledge, We are no Kinges, and therefore neither can we reforme religion, nor yet defend such as be persecuted. Consider, my Lordes, that yee are powers ordened by God (as before is declared), and therefore doth the reformation of religion, and the defense of such as injustly are oppressed, appertaine to your charge and care, which thinge shall the law of God, universally geven to be kept of all men, most evidently declare; which is my last and most assured reason, why, I say, yee ght to remove from honours and to punish with death such as God hath condemn-
it. 12. ed by his owne mouth. After that Moses had declared what was true religion, to wit, to honor God as he commaunded, adding nothing to his Worde, neither yet diminishinge any thing from it; and after also that vehemently he had exhorted the same law to be observed, he denounceth the punishment
it. 13 & 27. against the transgressours in these wordes, "Yf thy brother, sonne, doghter, wife, or neghbour, whome thou lovest as thyne own life, solicitate thee secretly, saying, Let us go serve other

goddes, whome neither thou, nor thy fathers have knowen, consent not to hym, hear hym not; let not thyne eye spare hym, shew hym no indulgentie or favour, hide him not, but utterly kill hym; let thy hand be the first upon hym, that he may be slaine, and after the hande of the whole people." Of these wordes of Moses are two things, apperteaning to our purpose, to be noted: Former, that such as solicitate only to idolatrie oght to be punished to death, without favour or respect of person. For He that will not suffer man to spare his sonne, his daughter, nor his wife, but straitly commaundeth punishment to be taken upon the idolatours, (have they never so nie conjunction with us,) will not wink at the idolatrie of others, of what estate or condition so ever they be.

Idolatrie oght to be punished without respect of person.

It is not unknowen, that the Prophetes had revelations of God, which were not commune to the people; as Samuel had the revelation, that Eli and his posteritie should be destroyed; that Saul should first be King, and thereafter that he should be rejected; that David should reign for him. Micheas[1] understode by vision that Achab should be killed in battaile against the Sirians. Elias[2] saw that dogges should eat Jesabel in the fortres of Jesrael. Eliseus[3] did see hunger come upon Israel by the space of seven yeares, Jeremie did foresee the destruction of Jerusalem and the tyme of their captivitie; and so diverse other Prophetes had diverse revelations of God, which the people did not otherwise understand but by their affirmation; and therefore in those dayes were the Prophetes named Seears, because that God did open unto them that which was hid from the multitude. Now, if anie man might have claimed anie priviledge from the rigour of the law, or might have justified his fact, it should have bene the Prophete. For he might have alledged for hymselfe his singular prerogative, that he had above other men, to have Goddes will revealed unto hym by vision or by dream, or that God had declared particularely unto hym, that his pleasure was to be honoured in that maner,

If anie estate might have claimed priviledge, it was the Prophetes. 1 Sam. 3. 1 Sam. 9, 15.

1 Reg. 22.

1 Reg. 21.

2 Reg. 8.

[1, 2, & 3.] In our present version, Micaiah, Elijah, Elisha.

in such a place, and by such meanes. But all such excuses doth God remove, commaunding that the Prophete that shall solicitate the people to serve strange goddes shall die the death, notwitstanding that he alledge for hymselfe dream, vision, or revelation. Yea, althogh he promisse miracles, and also that such thinges as he promiseth come to passe; yet I say, commaundeth God that no credit be geven to hym, but that he die the death; because he teacheth apostasie, and defection from God. Hereof your Honours may easely espie, that none provoking the people to idolatrie ought to be exempted from the punishment of death. For if neither that inseparable conjunction, which God hymselfe hath sanctified betwixt man and wife; neither that unspeakable love grafted in nature, which is betwixt the father and the sonne; neither yet that reverence, which Goddes people ought to bear to the Prophetes, can excuse anie man to spare the offendour, or to conceale his offense; what excuse can man pretend, which God will accept? Evident it is, that no estate, condition, nor honour, can exempt the idolatour from the handes of God, when he shall call him to accomptes, or shall inflict punishment upon him for his offence: how shall it then excuse the people, that they according to Goddes commaundement punish not to death such as shal solicitate or violently draw the people to idolatrie?

And this is the fyrst, which I would your Honours should note, of the former wordes, to witt, That no person is exempted from punishment, if he can be manifestly convicted to have provoked or led the people to idolatrie. And this is most evidently declared in that solemned othe and convenante, which Asa made with the people to serve God, and to mentaine his religion, adding this penaltie to the transgressours of it; to wit, "that whosoever should not seke the Lord God of Israel should be kylled; were he greate, or were he small, were it man, or were it woman." And of this othe was the Lorde compleased, he was found of them, and gave them rest on everie parte, be-

2 Par. 15.

cause they sought him with their whole heart, and did swear to punish the offenders, according to the precept of his law, without respect of persons. And this is it which, I say, I would your Honours should note for the fyrst, That no idolatour can be exempted from punishment by Goddes Law. The seconde is, That the punishment of such crimes, as are idolatrie, blasphemie, and others, that tuche the Majestie of God, dothe not appertaine to kinges and chefe rulers only, but also to the whole bodie of that people, and to every membre of the same, according to the vocation of everie man, and according to that possibilitie and occasion which God doth minister to revenge the injurie done against his glorie, what time that impietie is manifestly knowen. And that doth Moses more plainely speak in these wordes: "Yf in anie of thy cities," saith he, "which the Lord thy God geveth unto thee to dwell in them, thou shalt hear this brute: There are some men, the sonnes of Belial, passed furthe from thee, and have solicited the citizens of theyr cities by these wordes, Let us go and serve strange goddes which you have not knowen; search and inquire diligently, and if it be true that such abomination is done in the middest of thee, thou shalt utterly stryke the inhabitants of that citie with the sworde; thou shalt destroy it, and whatsoever is within it; thou shalt gather the spoile of it in the middest of the market-place; thou shalt burne that citie with fier, and the spoile of it to the Lord thy God, that it may be a heap of stones for ever; neither shall it be any more buylded. Let nothing of that execration cleave to thy hand; that the Lord may turne from the furie of his wrath, and be moved towerdes thee with inward affection." Deut. 13.

Plaine it is that Moses speaketh, nor geveth not charge to Kinges, Rulers, and Judges only, but he commaundeth the whole[1] bodie of the people, yea, and everie membre of the same according to their possibilitie; and who dar be so impudent as to denie this to be most reasonable and just? For seing that

Why everie man in Israel was bound to obey Goddes commaundement.

[1] In the orig. "whole" is uniformly printed "hole."

God had delyvered the whole bodie from bondage, and to the whole multitude had geven his law, and to the Twelve tribes had he so distributed the inheritance of the land of Canaan, that no familie could complaine that it was neglected; was not the whole and everie membre addetted to confesse and acknowledge the benefites of God! yea, had it not bene the part of everie man to have studied to kepe the possession which he had
t. 28 & 3) receaved? which thing God did plainely pronounce they should not do, except that in their heartes they did sanctifie the Lord God, that they embrased, and inviolably kept his religion established. And finally, except they did cutt oute iniquitie from amongest them, declaring themselves earnest ennemies to those abominations which God declared hymselfe so vehemently to
t. 7. hate, that fyrst he commaunded the whole inhabitants of that countrie to be distroyed, and all monuments of their idolatrie to be broken doune; and thereafter he also streatly commaundeth, that a citie declininge to idolatrie should fall in the edge of the sworde, and that the whole spoile of the same should
d's judge- be burned, no portion of it reserved. To the carnal man this
its to the all man ear rigorous may appeare a rigorous and severe judgement, yea, it may rather seme to be pronounced in a rage then in wisdome. For what citie was ever yet, in which, to mannes judgement, were not to be found manie innocent persons, as infants, children, and somme simple and ignorant soules, who neither did nor could consent to such impietie? And yet we fynd no exception, but all are appointed to the cruel death. And as concernyng the citie, and the spoile of the same, mannes reason can not think, but that it might have bene better bestowed then to be consumed with fier, and so to profitt no man. But in such cases will God that all creatures stoupe, cover their faces, and desist from reasonyng, when commaundement is geven to execute his judgement. Albeit I could adduce diverse causes of such severitie, yet will I search none other then the Holie Ghost hath assigned. Fyrst, that all Israel, hearing the judgement, should fear to commit the like abomination. And second-

arely, that the Lord might turn from the furie of his anger, might be moved towerdes the people with inward affection, be mercifull unto them, and multiplie them, according to his othe made unto theire fathers. Which reasons, as they are sufficient in Goddes children to correct the murmuring of the grudging fleshe; so oght they to provoke everie man, as before I have said, to declare hymselfe ennemie to that which so highly provoketh the wrath of God against the whole people. For where Moses saith, "Let the citie be burned, and let no part of the spoile cleave to thy hand; that the Lord may return from the furie of his wrath," &c., He plainely doth signifie, that by the defection and idolatrie of a few, Goddes wrath is kyndled against the whole, which is never quenched till such punishement be taken upon the offenders; that whatsoever served them in their idolatrie be broght to destruction, because that it is execrable and accursed before God; and therefore he will not that it be reserved for anie use of his people. I am not ignorant that this law was not put in execution, as God commaunded. But what did thereof insue and folow, histories declare; to witt, plage after plage, till Israel and Juda were led in captivitie, as the bokes of Kings do witnesse. The consideration whereof maketh me more bold to affirm, that it is the duetie of everie man, that list to escape the plage and punishement of God, to declare hymselfe ennemie to idolatrie, not only in heart, hating the same, but also in externall gesture, declaring that he lamenteth, yf he can do no more, for such abominations. Which thing was shewed to the Prophete Ezechiel, what tyme he gave hym to understand why he would destroy Juda with Israel; and that he would remove his glorie from the Temple and place that he had chosen, and so power furth his wrathe and indignation upon the citie, that was full of blood and apostasie, which became so impudent, that it durst be bold to say, "The Lord hath left the earth, and seeth not." At this tyme, I say, the Lord revealed in vision to his Prophete, who they were,

For the idolat of a small nun ber is Goddes wrath kindled against the m titude not punishing the offendours.

Ezech. 9.

Ezech. 8 & 9.

that should fynd favour in that miserable destruction; to witt, "those that did murne and lament for all the abominations done in the citie, in whose foreheades did God commaund to print and seal Tau,"[1] to the end that the destroyer, who was commaunded to stryke the rest without mercie, should not hurt them in whome that signe was found. Of these premisses, I suppose it be evident, that the punishment of idolatrie doth not appertaine to kinges only, but also to the whole people, yea, to everie membre of the same, according to his possibilitie. For that is a thing most assured, that no man can murne, lament, and bewaile for those thinges which he will not remove to the uttermost of his power. Yf this be required of the whole people, and of everie man in his vocation, what shall be required of you, my Lordes, whome God hath raised upp to be Princes and Rulers above your brethren, whose handes he hath armed with the sword of his justice? yea, whome he hath appointed to be as bridels, to represse the rage and insolencie of your Kinges, whensoever they pretend manifestly to transgresse Goddes blessed ordenance?

Note.

An Answer to an Objection.

Yf any think that this my affirmation, tuchinge the punishment of idolaters, be contrarie to the practise of the Apostles, who, fynding the Gentiles in idolatrie, did call them to repentance, requiring no such punishment; lett the same man understand, that the Gentiles, before the preaching of Christ, lived, as the Apostle speaketh, without God in the world, drowned in idolatrie, according to the blindnes and ignorance in which then they were holden, as a prophane nation, whome God had never openly avowed to be his people, had never receaved in his houshold, neither geven unto them lawes to be kept in religion nor politie: and therefore did not his Holie Ghost, calling them to repentance, require of them anie corporall punishment, according to the rigour of

Why no law was executed against the Gentiles, being Idolaters.

[1] So in the original edition.—In our present version the words are, "and *set a mark* upon the foreheads of the men that sigh and cry for all the abominations that be done in the midst thereof."

the law, unto the which they were never subjects, as they that were strangers from the communewelth of Israel. But Ephe. 2.
if anie think, that after that the Gentiles were called from theyr vaine conversation, and by embrasing Christ Jesus were receaved in the nombre of Abraham's children, and so made one people with the Jewes, beleving; yf anie think, I say, that then they were not bounde to the same obedience which God required of his people Israel, what tyme he confirmed his leage and covenante with them, the same man appeareth to make Christ inferiour to Moses, and contrarious to the law of his heavenlie Father. For if the contempt or transgression of Moses' law was worthie of death, what should we judge the contempt of Christes ordenance to be?—I mean after they be once received. And if Christ be not commed to dissolve, but to fulfill the law of his heavenlie Father, shall the libertie of his Gospell be an occasion that the especiall glorie of his Father be troden under foote, and regarded of no man? God forbid. The especial glorie of God is, that such as professe them to be his people should harken to his voice; and amongest all the voices of God revealed to the world, tuching punishment of vices, is none more evident, neither more severe, then is that which is pronounced against idolatrie, the teachers and mentainers of the same. And therefore I fear not to affirm, that the Gentiles (I mean everie citie, realme, province, or nation amongest the Gentiles, embrasing Christ Jesus and his true religion) be bound to the same leage and covenant that God made with his people Israel, what tyme he promised to roote owt the nations before them, in these wordes:

The especiall honour which God requireth his people. 1 Sam 15.

"Beware that thou make anie covenante[1] with the inhabi- Exod. 34.
tantes of the land to the which thou commest, leste perchance that this come in ruin, (that is, be destruction to thee); but thou shalt destroy theyr alters, break their idols, and cutt doune their groves. Fear no strange goddes, worship them not, neither yet make you sacrifice to them. But the Lord,

[1] In the orig. always printed "cōvenante," or "convenante."

who in his great power and owtstretched arme hath broght you owt of the land of Egypt, shall you fear; hym shall you honour; hym shall you worship; to hym shall you make sacrifice; his statutes, judgements, lawes, and commaundementes you shall kepe and observe. This is the covenante which I have made with you, saith the Eternall, forget it not; neither yet fear ye other goddes, but fear you the Lord your God, and he shall deliver you from the handes of all your ennemies."

To this same law, I say, and covenante are the Gentiles no lesse bounde, then somtyme were the Jewes, whensoever God doth illuminate the eyes of anie multitude, province, people, or citie, and putteth the sworde in their own hand to remove such enormities from amongest them, as before God they know to be abominable. Then, I say, are they no lesse bound to purge theyr dominions, cities, and countries from idolatrie, then were the Israelites, what tyme they receaved the possession of the land of Canaan. And moreover, I say, if any go about to erect and set up idolatrie, or to teach defection from God, after that the veritie hath bene receaved and approved, that then, not only the Magistrates, to whom the sword is committed, but also the People, are bound, by that othe which they have made to God, to revenge to the uttermost of their power the injurie done against his Majestie. In universal defections, and in a general revolt, such as was in Israel after Jeroboam, there is a diverse consideration. For then, because the whole people were together conspired against God, there could none be found that woulde execute the punishement which God had commaunded, till God raised up Jehu, whom he had appointed for that purpose. And the same is to be considered in all other general defections, suche as this day be in the Papistrie, where all are blinded, and all are declined from God, and that of longe continuance, so that no ordinarie justice can be executed, but the punishment must be reserved to God, and unto such meanes as he shall appoint. But I do speak of such a nombre, as, after they have receaved Goddes perfect religion, do boldly professe

the same, notwithstanding that some, or the most part, fal back, (as of late daies was in England): unto such a nombre, I say, it is laufull to punish the idolatours with death, if by anie meanes God geve them the power. For so did Josua and Israel determine to have done against the children of Ruben; Gad, and Manasses, for their suspected apostasie and defection from God. And the whole tribes did in verie dede execute that sharpe judgement against the tribe of Benjamin, for a lesse offence then for idolatrie. And the same ought to be done whersoever Christ Jesus and his Evangill is so receaved in any realme, province, or citie, that the Magistrates and people have solemnely avowed and promised to defend the same, as under King Edward of late dayes was done in England. In such places, I say, it is not only lawful to punish to the death such as labour to subvert the true Religion, but the Magistrates and people are bound so to do, onles they wil provoke the wrath of God against themselves. And therfor I fear not to affirm, that it had bene the dutie of the Nobilitie, Judges, Rulers, and People of England, not only to have resisted and againstanded Marie, that Jesabel, whome they call their Queen, but also to have punished her to the death, with all the sort of her idolatrous Preestes, together with all such as should have assisted her, what tyme that shee and they openly began to suppresse Christes Evangil, to shed the blood of the saincts of God, and to erect that most divellish idolatrie, the Papistical abominations, and his usurped tyrannie, which ones[1] most justly by commune othe was banished from that realme.

But becaus I can not at this present discusse this argument, as it appertaineth, I am compelled to omitt it to better opportunitie; and so returning to your Honours, I say, that if ye confesse your selves baptised in the Lord Jesus, of necessitie ye must confesse that the care of his religion doth appertaine to your charge. And if ye know that in your handes God hath put the sworde for the causes above ex-

[1] "Ones," once.

pressed, then can ye not denie, but that the punishment of obstinate and malepert idolatours, (such as all your Bishoppes be) doth appertaine to your office, yf after admonition they continew obstinat. I am not ignorant what be the vaine defenses of your proude Prelates. They claime first a prerogative and priviledge that they are exempted, and that by consent of Councils and Emperours, from all jurisdiction of the Temporaltie. And secondarely, when they are convicted of manifest impieties, abuses, and enormities, aswell in their maners as in religion, neither fear nor shame they to affirme, that thinges so longe established can not suddenly be reformed, althogh they be corrupted, but with processe of tyme they promisse to take order. But in few wordes I answer, that no priviledge graunted against the ordenance and statutes of God is to be observed, althogh all Councils and men in the earth have appointed the same: But against Goddes ordenance it is, that idolatours, murtherours, fals teachers, and blasphemers shall be exempted from punishement, as before is declared, and therefore in vain it is that they claym for priviledge, when that God sayeth, "The murtherer shalt thou rive from my altar, that he may die the death." And as to the order and reformation which they promisse, that is to be loked or hoped for when Satan, whose children and slaves they are, can change his nature. This answer I doubt not shall suffice the sober and godlie Reader. But yet to the end that they may further see their own confusion, and that your Honours may better understand what ye oght to do in so manifest a corruption and defection from God, I aske of themselves, What assurance they have for this their immunitie, exemption, or priviledge? who is the auctour of it? and what frute it hath produced? And fyrst I say, that of God they have no assurance, neither yet can he be proved to be auctour of anie suche priviledge. But the contrarie is easie to be seen. For God in establishing his orders in Israel, did so subject Aaron (in his preesthode being the figure of Christ) to Moses, that he feared not to call him

God is not auctour of anie priviledge graunted to Papistical Byshoppes, that they be exempted from the power of the Civile sword.

in judgement, and to constrain hym to give accomptes of his wicked dede in consenting to idolatrie, as the historie doth plainely witnesse. For thus it is written:

"Then Moses toke the calf which they had made, and burned it with fier, and did grind it to powder, and scattering it in the water, gave it to drink to the children of Israel;" declaring herebie the vanitie of their idol, and the abomination of the same; and thereafter, "Moses said to Aaron, What hath this people done to thee, that thou shouldest bring upon it so great a syn?" Exod. 32.

Thus, I say, doth Moses call and accuse Aaron of the destruction of the whole people; and yet he perfectly understode, that God had appointed hym to be the High Preest, that he should bear upon his shoulders and upon his breast the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, for whome he was appointed to make sacrifice, praiers, and supplications. He knew his dignitie was so great, that only he might entre within the most holie place: but neither could his office nor dignitie exempt hym from judgement when he had offended. Yf any object, Aaron at that tyme was not anointed, and therefore was he subject to Moses; I have answered, that Moses, being taught by the mouth of God, did perfectly understand to what dignitie Aaron was appointed, and yet he feared not to call hym in judgement, and to compell hym to make answer for his wicked fact. But if this answer doth not suffice, yet shall the Holie Ghost witnesse further in the matter. Salomon removed from honour Abiather being the High Preeste, and commaunded him to cease from all function, and to live as a private man. Now if the unction did exempt the Preest from jurisdiction of the Civile Magistrate, Salomon did offend, and injured Abiathar: for he was anoynted, and had caried the ark before David. But God doth not reprove the fact of Salomon, neither yet doth Abiather claime anie prerogative by the reason of his office, but rather doth the Holie Ghost approve the fact of Salomon, sayinge, "Salomon ejected furth Abia- The dignitie o Aaron did not exempt him f judgement.

1 Regum. 2. 1 Sam. 3. thar that he should not be the Preest of Lord; that Word of the Lord might be performed, which he spake u the house of Eli."

And Abiathar did think that he obtained great favour that he did escape the present death, which by his conspir he had deserved. Yf anie yet reason, that Abiathar was otherwise subject to the judgement of the King, but as he appointed to be the executour of that sentence which God

Note Well. fore had pronounced; as I will not greatly denie that rea so require I, that everie man consider, that the same God

Gal. 4. 1 Tim. 3. pronounced sentence against Eli and his house, hath p nounced also, that idolaters, hooremongers, murtherers, blasphemers, shall neither have portion in the kingdom God, neither ought to be permitted to bear anie rule in Church and congregation. Now if the unction and office sa not Abiathar, because that Goddes sentence must nedes performed, can anie priviledge graunted by man be a buck to malefactours, that they shall not be subject to the puni mentes pronounced by God! I think no man will be so f ishe as so to affirm. For a thing more then evident it is, t the whole Preesthode in the tyme of the Law was bound give obedience to the Civile powers; and if anie membre of same was founde criminal, the same was subject to the punis ment of the sworde, which God had put in the hand of

Mat. 17. Magistrate. And this ordenance of his Father did not Chr disanul, but rather did confirme the same, commaunding bute to be payed for hymselfe and for Peter; who perfec knowing the mynd of his Maister, thus writeth in his Epis

1 Pet. 2. Act. 4 & 5. "Submit your selves to all maner ordenance of man excepteth such as be expressely repugnyng to Goddes co maundement) for the Lordes sake; whether it be to King, as the chefe head, or unto Rulers, as unto them that are sent hym for punishement of evill doers, and for the praise of th that do well."

The same doth the Apostle Saint Paule most plainely co

maund in these wordes, "Let everie soule be subject to the superiour powers." Rom. 13.

Which places make evident, that neither Christ, neither his Apostles, hath geven any assurance of this immunitie and priviledge, which men of Church (as they wilbe termed) do this day claime. Yea, it was a thing unknowen to the primitive Churche many years after the daies of the Apostles. For Chrysostome, who served in the Churche at Constantinople, foure hundreth years after Christes ascension, and after that corruption was greatlie increased, doth yet thus write upon the forsayd wordes of the Apostle: "This precept (saieth he) doth not appertaine to such as be called Seculars onlie, but even to those that be Preestes and religious men." And after he addeth, "Whether thou be Apostle, Evangelist, Prophete, or whosoever thou be, thou canst not be exempted from this subjection." Chrysostome upon the 13. to the Rom. Let Papistes answer Chrysostome.

Hereof it is playn that Chrysostome did not understand that God had exempted any person from obedience and subjection of the Civile power; neither yet that he was auctour of such exemption and priviledge, as Papistes do this day claime. And the same was the judgement and uniforme doctrine of the primative Church many years after Christe. Your Honours do wonder, I doubt not, from what fontaine then did this theyr immunitie, as they terme it, and singular priviledge spring. I shall shortly touch that, which is evident in their own law and histories.

When the Byshoppes of Rome, the verie Antichrists, had, partly by fraud and partly by violence, usurped the superioritie of some places in Italie, and most injustly had spoiled the Emperours of their rentes and possessions, and had also murthered some of their officers, as histories do witnesse, then began Pope after Pope to practise and devise how they should be exempted from judgement of Princes, and from the equitie of lawes; and in this poynt they were most vigilant, till at length iniquitie did so prevaile in theyr handes, according Lett theyr owne histories witnesse.

as Daniel had before prophesied of them, that this sentence was pronounced: "Neither by the Emperour, neither by the Clergie, neither yet by the People, shall the judge be judged." "God will (saieth Symmachus) that the causes of others be determined by men; but without all question, he hath reserved the Byshop of this seat (understanding Rome) to his own judgement."

The mouthe of the beast speakinge great thinges. Distin. 9. Quæs. 3.

Theyre lawes do witnesse. Dist. 19.

And hereof diverse Popes and expositours of their lawes would seme to geve reasons. For, saieth Agatho, "All the preceptes of the Apostolik seat are assured, as by the voice of God himself."

Cap. de Translatione. Titul. 7.

The auctour of the glose upon their Canon affirmeth, That if all the world should pronounce sentence against the Pope, yet should his sentence prevaile. For saieth he, "The Pope hath a heavenlie will, and therefore he may chaunge the nature of thinges; he may apply the substance of one thing to another, and of nothing he may make somwhat; and that sentence which was nothing, that is, by his mynd fals and injust, he may make somewhat that is true and just. For (saieth he) in all thinges that please hym, his will is for reason; neither is there any man that may aske of hym, Why doest thou so! For he may dispens above the law, and of injustice he may make justice: For he hath the fulnes of all power."

And manie other most blasphemous sentences did they pronounce, every one after other, which for shortnes sake I omitt, till at the end they obtained this most horrible Decree: That albeit in life and conversation they were so wicked and detestable, that not only they condemned themselves, but that also they drew to hell and perdition manie thousandes with them; yet that none should presume to reprehend or rebuke them. This being established for the head, (albeit not without some contradiction, for some Emperours did require due obedience of them, as Goddes Word commaunded, and auncient Byshoppes had geven before to Emperours, and to their lawes; but Satan so prevailed in his sute before the blynd world, that the

Distinc. 40.

Note the equitie of this commaundement.

former sentences were confirmed, which power being graunted to the head), then began provision to be made for the rest of the membres in all realmes and countries where they made residence. The frute whereof we see to be this, that none of that pestilent generation (I mean the vermine of the Papistical order) will be subject to anie Civile Magistrate, how enormous that ever his crime be, but will be reserved to their own Ordenarie,[1] as they terme it. And what frutes have hereof ensued, be the world never so blynd, it can not but witnesse. For how their head, that Roman Antichrist, hath bene occupied ever sence the graunting of such priviledges, histories do witnesse, and of late the most part of Europa subject to the plage of God, to fier and sworde, by his procurement hath felt, and this day doth fele. The pride, ambition, envie, excesse, fraude, spoile, oppression, murther, filthie life, and incest, that is used and mentained amongest that rabble of preestes, freers, monkes, channons, byshoppes, and cardinalls, can not be expressed. I fear not to affirme, neither doubt I to prove, that the Papistical church is further degenerate from the puretie of Christes doctrine, from the footesteppes of the Apostles, and from the maners of the Primative church, then was the church of the Jewes from Goddes holie statutes, what time it did crucifie Christ Jesus, the onlie Messias, and most cruelly persecute his Apostles. And yet will our Papistes claime theyr priviledges and auncient liberties, which if you graunt unto them, my Lordes, ye shall assuredly drink the cupp of Goddes vengeance with them, and shalbe reputed before his presence compagnions of theves and mentainers of murtherers, as is before declared: For theyr immunitie and priviledge, whereof so greatly they bost, is nothing els, but as if theves, murtherers, or briggandes should conspire amongest themselves, that they would never answer in judgement before anie laufull Magistrate, to the end that their theft and murther should not be punished; even

The matter is more then evident.

Whosoever mentaineth the priviledges of Papists, shall drink the cup of God's vengeance with them.

[1] "Ordinarie," the established Judge of Ecclesiastical causes; one who has ordinary or immediate jurisdiction in matters Ecclesiastical.

such, I say, is their wicked priviledge, which neither they have of God the Father, neither of Christ Jesus, who hathe revealed his Father's will to the world, neither yet of the Apostles nor Primative churche, as before is declared: But it is a thinge conspired amongest themselves, to the end that their iniquitie, detestable life, and tyrannie, shall neither be repressed nor reformed. And if they object, that godlie Emperours did graunt and confirme the same; I answer, that the godlines of no man is or can be of sufficient auctoritie to justifie a foolishe and ungodlie fact, such I mean as God hath not alowed by his Worde. For Abraham was a godlie man, but the deniall of his wife was such a fact as no godlie man ought to imitate: the same might I shew of David, Ezechias, and Josias, unto whom I think no man of judgement will prefer anie Emperour sence Christ, in holines and wisdome; and yet are not all theyr factes, no even such as they appeared to have done for good causes, to be approved nor folowed. And therefore, I say, as errour and ignorance remayn allwaies with the most perfect man in this life, so must their workes be examined by another rule then by their own holines, if they shall be approved. But if this answer doth not suffice, then will I answer more shortly, that no godlie Emperour sence Christes ascension hath graunted anie such priviledge to anie such Churche or person, as they, the whole generation of Papistes, be at this day. I am not ignorant, that some Emperours of a certain zeale, and for some considerations, graunted liberties to the true Church, afflicted for theyr mentainance against tyrants; but what serveth this for the defence of theyr tyrannie? Yf the law must be understanded according to the mynd of the lawgever, then must they fyrst prove themselves Christes true and afflicted Churche, before they can claime anie priviledge to appertaine to them; for only to that Churche were the priviledges graunted. It will not be their glorious titles, neither yet the longe possession of the name, that can prevaile in this so weghtie a cause; for all those had the Churche of Jerusalem,

which did crucifie Christ and did condemne his doctrine. We offer to prove by theyr frutes and tyrannie, by the Prophetes, and playn Scriptures of God, what trees and generation they be, to witt, unfrutefull and rotton, apt for nothing but to be cutt and cast in hell fier; yea, that they are the very kingdome of Antichrist, of whome we are commaunded to beware. And therefore, my Lordes, to return to you, seing that God hath armed your handes with the sworde of justice; seing that his law most streatly commaundeth idolaters and fals prophetes to be punished with death; and that you be placed above your subjects to reigne as fathers over theyr children; and further, seing that not only I, but with me manie thousand famous, godlie, and learned persons, accuse your Byshoppes and the whole rabble of the Papistical Clergie, of idolatrie, of murther, and of blasphemie against God committed: it appertaineth to your Honours to be vigilant and carefull in so weghtie a matter. The question is not of earthly substance, but of the glorie of God, and of the salvation of your selves, and of your brethren subject to your charge; in which if you, after this playne admonition, be negligent, there resteth no excuse by reason of ignorance. For, in the name of God, I require of you, that the cause of religion may be tried in your presence by the playne and simple Worde of God; that your Byshoppes be compelled to desist from theyre tyrannie; that they be compelled to make answer for the neglecting of their office, for the substance of the poore, which unjustly they usurpe and prodigally they do spend; but principally for the false and deceavable doctrine which is taught and defended by theyr fals prophetes, flattering freers, and other such venemous locustes: Which thing if with single eyes ye do, (preferring Goddes glorie and the salvation of your brethren to all worldlie commoditie), then shall the same God, who solemnly doth pronounce to honour those that do honour hym, powre his benedictions plentifully upon you, he shall be your buckler, protection, and captayne, and shall represse by his strength and wisdome whatsoever Satan

by his suppostes shall imagine against you. I am not ignorant that great troubles shall ensue your enterprise; for Satan will not be expelled from the possession of his usurped kingdome without resistance. But if you, as is said, preferring Goddes glorie to your own lives, unfeanedly seke and studie to obey his blessed will, then shall your deliverance be such, as evidently it shall be knowen, that the angels of the Eternall do watche, make warr, and feght for those that unfeynedly fear the Lord. But if you refuse this my most reasonable and just Petition, what defence that ever you appeare to have before men, then shall
Deu. 28. Levit. 26. God (whome in me you contemne) refuse you. He shall poure furthe contempt upon you, and upon your posteritie after you. The spirit of boldnes and wisdome shall be taken from you, your ennemies shall reign, and you shall die in bondage; yea,
Num. 27 & 30. God shall cutt doune the unfrutefull trees, when they do appeare most beautifully to florish, and shall so burn the roote, that after of you shall neither twigge nor branch againe spring to glorie. Hereof I nede not to adduce unto you examples from the former ages, and auncient histories: For your brethren, the Nobilitie of England, are a mirrour and glasse in the which ye may beholde Goddes just punishment. For as they have refused him and his Evangel, which ones in mouth they did professe, so hath he refused them, and hath taken from them the spirit of wisdome, boldenes, and of counsel. They see and fele theyr owne miserie, and yet they have no grace to avoid it: they hate the bondage of strangers, the pride of preestes, and the monstriferous empire of a wicked Woman, and yet are they compelled to bowe their neckes to the yock of the Devill, to obey whatsoever the proude Spaniards and wicked Jesabel list to commaund; and finally, to stand like slaves, with capp in hand, till the servantes of Satan, the shaven sort, call them to counsel. This frute do they reape and gather of their former rebellion and unfaithfulnes towardes God; they are left confused in their owne counsels. He whome, in his membres, for the pleasure of a wicked woman,

they have exiled, persecuted, and blasphemed, doth now laugh them to skorn; suffereth them to be pyned in bondage of most wicked men; and finally, shall adjudge them to the fier everlasting, except that spedely and openly they repent their horrible treason, which against God, against his Sonne Christ Jesus, and against the libertie of their owne native Realme they have committed. The same plagues shall fall upon you. Be you assured, if ye refuse the defence of his servantes that call for your support. My words are sharpe, but consider, my Lorde, that they are not mine, but that they are the threatnynges of the Omnipotent, who assuredly will performe the voices of his Prophetes, how that ever carnall men despise his admonitions. The sworde of Goddes wrath is alredie drawen, which of necessitie must nedes stryke, when grace offred is obstinatly refused. You have bene long in bondage of the Devil; blyndnes, errour, and idolatrie prevailing against the simple treuth of God in that your realme, in which God hath made you Princes and Rulers. But now doth God of his great mercie call you to repentance, before he powre furth the utterment of his vengeance: he crieth to your eares that your religion is nothing but idolatrie; he accuseth you of the blood of his saintes, which hath bene shed by your permission, assistance, and power: for the tyrannie of those raging beastes should have no force, if by your strength they were not mentained. Of thoose horrible crimes doth now God accuse you, not of purpose to condemne you, but mercifully to absolve and pardon you, as sometyme he did those whom Peter accused to have killed the Author of God; so that ye be not of mind nor purpose to justifie your former iniquitie.

Iniquitie I call not only the crimes and offenses, which have bene and yet remaine in your maners and lives, but that also which appeareth before men most holie, with hasard of my life I offre to prove abomination before God; that is, your whole religion to be so corrupt and vaine, that no true servants of God can communicate with it, because that in so doing, he

should manifestly denie Christ Jesus and his eternal veritie. I know that your byshoppes, accompained with the swarme of the Papistical vermine, shal crie, "A damned heretik oght not to be heard." But remembre, my Lords, what in the beginning I have protested, upon which ground I continually stand, to witt, that I am no heretike nor deceavable teacher, but the servante of Christ Jesus, a preacher of his infallible Veritie, innocent in all that they can lay to my charge concerning my doctrine, and that therefore by them, being ennemies to Christ, I am injustly damned. From which cruell Sentence I have Appealed, and do appeal, as before mention is made; in the meantyme most humbly requiring your Honours to take me in your protection, to be auditours of my just defenses, graunting unto me the same libertie which Achab, a wicked king, and Israel, at that tyme a blynded people, granted to Helias in the like case: That is, that your Byshoppes and the whole rabble of your Clergie may be called before you, and before that people whome they have deceaved; that I be not condemned by multitude, by custome, by auctoritie or law divised by man, but that God hymself may be judge betwixt me and my adversaries. Let God, I say, speak by his Law, by his Prophetes, by Christ Jesus, or by his Apostles, and so let hym pronounce what religion he approveth; and then be my ennemies never so manie, and appeare they never so stronge and so learned, no more do I feare victorie then did Helias, being but one man against the multitude of Baales preestes. And if they think to have advantage by theyre councils and doctours, this I further offer, to admit the one and the other as witnesses in all matters debateable; three thinges (which justly can not be denied) being granted unto me: First, That the most auncient Councils nighest to the Primitive church, in which the learned and godlie Fathers did examine all matters by Goddes Word, may be holden of most auctoritie. Secondarely, That no determination of councils nor man be admitted against the plaine veritie of Goddes Word, nor against the determination of those

Answer to ld Objection, an Heretik not to be

p. 18.

hing Coun- nd Doctours.

foure chefe Councils, whose auctoritie hath bene and is holden by them equal with the auctoritie of the foure Evangelistes. And last, That to no Doctour be geven greater auctoritie then Augustine requireth to be geven to his writinges: to witt, if he plainely prove not his affirmation by God's infallible Worde, that then his sentence be rejected, and imputed to the errour of a man. These thinges graunted and admitted, I shall no more refuse the testimonies of Councils and Doctours then shall my adversaries. But and if they will justifie those Councils which mentaine theyr pride and usurped auctoritie, and will reject those which plainly have condemned all such tyrannie, negligence, and wicked life, as Byshoppes now do use; and if further, they will snatche a doubtfull sentence of a Doctour, and refuse his mynd when he speaketh plainly, then will I say, that all man[1] is a lyer, that credit ought not to be geven to an unconstant witnes, and that no Councils oght to prevaile nor be admitted against the sentence which God hath pronounced. In Prologo Retract.

And thus, my Lordes, in a few wordes to conclude, I have offred unto you a triall of my innocencie: I have declared unto you what God requireth of you, being placed above his people as Rulers and Princes: I have offred unto you, and to the inhabitants of the realme, the veritie of Christ Jesus; and with the hasard of my life, I presently offer to prove the religion, which amongest you is mentained by fier and sworde, to be fals, damnable, and diabolicall. Which thinges if ye refuse, defending tyrantes in their tyrannie, then dar I not flatter; but as it was commaunded to Ezechiel boldly to proclaime, so must I crie to you, "that you shall perishe in your iniquitie," that the Lord Jesus shall refuse so manie of you as maliciously withstand his eternall veritie; and in the day of his apparition, when all flesh shall appear before hym, that He shall repell you from his compagnie, and shall commaund you to the fier whiche never shalbe quenched; and then neither shall the multitude Eze. 33. Mat. 24 & 26. Dani. 12. Mat. 25.

[1] "All man," every man.

be able to resist, neither yet the counsels of man be able to prevaile, against that sentence which He shall pronounce.

God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the power of his Holie Spirit, so rule and dispose your hearts, that with simplicitie ye may consider the thinges that be offred, and that ye may take such order in the same as God in you may be glorified, and Christes flock by you may be edified and comforted, to the praise and glorie of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose Omniponent Spirit rule your hearts in his true feare to the end.

AMEN.

A LETTER

ADDRESSED TO THE COMMONALTY

OF SCOTLAND.

M.D.LVIII.

To his Beloved Brethren the Communaltie of Scotland, John Knoxe wisheth Grace, Mercie, and Peace, with the spirit of righteous judgement.[1]

What I have required of the Quene Regent, Estates, and Nobilitie, as of the chiefe heades (for this present) of the realme, I can not cease to require of you, dearli beloved Brethren, which be the Communaltie and bodie of the same; to wit, that it (notwithstanding that fals and cruel Sentence which your disguised Byshoppes have pronounced against me) would please you to be so favorable unto me, as to be indifferent[2] auditours of my just purgation. Which to do, if God earnestly move your hearts, as I nothing doubt but that your entreprise shall redounde to the praise of his holie name, so am I assured that ye and your posteritie shall by that meanes receave most singular comfort, edification, and profit. For when ye shall heare the matter debated, ye shall easelie perceave and understand upon what grounde and foundation is builded that religion, which amongest you is this day defended by fier and

[1] The following Letter forms part of the little volume printed at Geneva, containing his Appellation: see facsimile of the title, *supra*, p. 465. Mr M'Gavin remarks: "In this address to the people of Scotland, which he sent from Geneva along with his Appeal to the nobility, Knox, I think, appears to still more advantage than he does in the Appeal. Along with an affectionate earnestness, which shows the heart-felt interest he took in the spiritual welfare of the people, he inculcates sentiments of civil liberty and Christian privilege, that had rarely, if at all, been published in the kingdom before. There is reason to think that his Address to the people had more effect upon them, than the Appellation had upon the nobles. It prepared the way for his powerful preaching that soon followed, and which effected the Reformation."—(Edit. of Knox's History, &c., p. 405, note. Glasgow, 1832, 8vo.)

[2] "Indifferent," impartial, without prejudice.

sword. As for my own conscience, I am most assuredly persuaded, that whatsoever is used in the Papistical Church is altogither repugning to Christes blessed ordinance, and is nothing but mortal venom, of which whosoever drinketh, I am assuredly persuaded, that therewith he drinketh death and damnation, except, by true conversion unto God, he be purged from the same. But because that long silence of Goddes Worde hath begotten ignorance almost in al sortes of men, and ignorance, joyned with long custome, hath confirmed superstition in the hearts of many; I therefore, in the name of the Lord Jesus, desire audience, aswell of you the Communalitie, my Brethren, as of the Estates and Nobilitie of the realme, that in publike preaching I may have place amongest you at large to utter my mind in all matters of controversie this day in religion. And further I desire, that ye, concurring with your Nobilitie, would compell your Byshoppes and Clergie to cease their tyrannie; and also that, for the better assurance and instruction of your conscience, ye would compell your said Bishoppes and fals teachers to answer by the Scriptures of God to such objections and crimes as shalbe laid against their vaine religion, fals doctrine, wicked life, and sclanderous conversation. Here I know, that it shalbe objected, that I require of you a thing most unreasonable; to witt, that ye should call your Religion in doubt, which hath bene approved and established by so long continuance, and by the consent of so manie men before you. But I shortly answer, that neither is the long processe of tyme, neither yet the multitude of men, a sufficient approbation which God will allow for our religion. For as some of the most auncient writers do witnesse, neither can long processe of tyme justifie an errour, neither can the multitude of such as follow it chaunge the nature of the same. But if it was an errour in the begynnyng, so is it in the end, and the longer that it be folowed, and the mo[1] that do receave it, it is the more pestilent, and more to be avoided. For if antiquitie or multitude of men

Petition.

Answer to an Objection.

Lactantius. Firmian. Tertulian. Cyprian.

[1] "Mo," more.

could justifie any religion, then was the idolatrie of the Gentiles, and now is the abomination of the Turkes, good religion. For antiquitie approved the one, and a multitude hath receaved and doth defende the other. But otherwise to answer, godlie men may wonder from what fontaine such a sentence doth flow, that no man ought to trie his faith and religion by Goddes Worde, but that he safely may beleve and folow everie thing which antiquitie and a multitude have approved. The Spirit of God doth otherwise teach us. For the wisdome of God, Christ Jesus hymselfe, remitted his adversaries to Moses and the Scriptures, to trie by them whether his doctrine was of God or not. The Apostles Paul and Peter commaunde men to trie the religion which they professe, by Goddes plaine Scriptures, and do praise men for so doing. St John straytly commaundeth that we beleve not everie spirit, but willeth us to trie the spirits whether they be of God or not. Now seyng that these evident testimonies of the Holie Ghoste will us[1] to trie our faith and religion by the plaine Worde of God, wonder it is that the Papistes will not be content that theyr religion and doctrine come under the triall of the same. If this sentence of Christ be true, (as it is most true, seing it springeth from the veritie itself), "Who so evill doeth, hateth the light, neither will he come to the light lest that his evill workes be manifested and rebuked;" then do our Papistes by their own sentence condemne themselves and theyr religion. For in so far as they refuse examination and trial, they declare that they know some fault which the light will utter: which is a cause of theyr feare, and why they claime to[2] that priviledge, that no man dispute of theyr religion. The veritie and trueth, being of the nature of fyne purified gold, doth not fear the trial of the fornace, but the stuble and chaff of mannes inventions (such is theyr religion) may not abyde the flame of the fier. True it is, that Mahomet pronounced this sentence, that no man should, in paine of death, dispute or reason of the grounde of his reli-

John 5 & 7.

Actes 17. 2 Pet. 1.

1 John 4.

John 3.

Why Papistes will not dispu of the ground theyr religion

Mahomet and the Pope do agree.

[1] "Will us," require us.

[2] "Claime to," lay claim to.

gion. Which law, to this day, by the art of Satan, is yet observed amongest the Turkes, to theyr mortal blindnes and horrible blasphemyng of Christ Jesus, and of his true religion. And from Mahomet (or rather from Satan, father of all lies,) hath the Pope and his rabble learned this former lesson, to wit, that theyre Religion should not be disputed upon; but what the fathers have beleved, that ought and must the children approve. And in so divising, Satan lacked not his foresight: For no one thing hath more established the kingdome of that Romane Antichrist then this most wicked Decree, to witt, That no man was permitted to reason of his power, or to call his lawes in doubt. This thing is most assured, that whensoever the Papistical religion shall come to examination, it shalbe founde to have no other grounde then hath the religion of Mahomet, to witt, mannes invention, devise, and dreames, overshadowed with some colour of Goddes Worde. And therefore, Brethren, seing that the Religion is as the stomake to the bodie, which, if it be corrupted, doth infect the whole membres, it is necessarie that the same be examined, and if it be founde replenished with pestilent humours (I mean with the fantasies of men), then of necessitie it is that those be purged, els shal your bodies and soules perishe for ever. For of this I would ye were most certainly persuaded, that a corrupt religion defileth the whole life of man, appear it never so holie. Neither would I that ye should esteme the Reformation and care of Religion lesse to appertain to you, because ye are no Kinges, Rulers, Judges, Nobils, nor in auctoritie. Beloved Brethren, ye are Goddes creatures, created and formed to his own image and similitude, for whose redemption was shed the most pretious blood of the onlie beloved Sonne of God, to whome he hath commaunded his gospell and glad-tidinges to be preached, and for whome he hath prepared the heavenlie inheritance, so that ye will not obstinately refuse and disdainefully contemne the meanes, which he hath appointed to obtaine the same, to witt, his blessed Evangile, which now he offereth unto you, to the end that ye

NOTA.

Reformation of religion belongeth to all that hope for life everlastinge.

may be saved. For the gospell and glad-tidinges of the kingdome truelie preached, is the power of God to the salvation of everie belever, which to credit and receave, you, the Communaltie, are no lesse addetted then be your Rulers and Princes. For albeit God hath put and ordened distinction and difference betwixt the King and subjects, betwixt the Rulers and the commune people, in the regiment and administration of Civile policies, yet in the hope of the life to come he hath made all equall. For as in Christ Jesus, the Jew hath no greater prerogative then[1] hath the Gentile, the man then hath the woman, the learned then the unlearned, the Lord then the servante, but all are one in him, so is there but one way and meanes to attaine to the participation of his benefites and spiritual graces, which is a lively faith working by charitie. And therefore I say, that it doth no lesse appertaine to you, beloved Brethren, to be assured that your faith and religion be grounded and established upon the true and undoubted Worde of God, then to your Princes or Rulers. For as your bodies can not escape corporal death, if with your Princes ye eat or drink deadlie poison (althoghe it be by ignorance or negligence), so shall ye not escape the death everlasting, if with them ye professe a corrupt religion. Yea, except in heart ye beleve, and with mouth ye confesse, the Lord Jesus to be the onlie Saviour of the world (which ye can not do, except ye embrace his Evangile offered), ye can not escape death and damnation. For as the just liveth by his own faith, so doth the unfaithfull perishe by his infidelitie. And as true faith is engendred, norished, and mentained in the heartes of Goddes elect by Christes Evangile truelie preached, so is infidelitie and unbelefe fostered by concealing and repressing the same. And thus if ye loke for the life everlasting, ye must trie if ye stand in faith; and if ye would be assured of a true and livelie faith, ye must nedes have Christ Jesus truely preached unto you. And this is the cause,

Rom. 1.

The Subject is no lesse bound to beleve in Christ then is the Kinge. Galat. 3

Abac. 2. Marc 16. John 3.

[1] "Then," a not uncommon mode, used in place of the particle "than," to express comparison.

dear Brethren, that so oft I repeat, and so constantly I affirm, that to you it doth no lesse appertaine, then to your Kinge or Princes, to provide that Christ Jesus be truely preached amongest you, seing that without his true knowledge[1] can neither of you both attaine to salvation. And this is the poynt wherein, I say, al man[2] is equal:

Wherin all man is equal. Rom. 5. Isa. 53. John 3 & 5.

"That as all be descended from Adam, by whose syn and inobedience did death enter into the world, so it behoved all that shall obtaine life to be ingrafted in one, that is, in the Lord Jesus, who, being the just servant, doth by his knowledge justifie many;" to wit, all that unfeanedly beleve in hym.

Of this equalitie, and that God requireth no lesse of the subject, be he never so poore, then of the Prince and riche man, in matters of religion, he hath geven an evident declaration in the law of Moses. For when the Tabernacle was buylded, erected, and set in order, God did provide how it and the thinges appertaining to the same should be sustained, so that they should not fall in decay. And this provision (albeit heaven and earth obey his empire) would he not take from the secrete and hid treasures which lie dispersed in the vaines of the earthe, neither yet would he take it from the riche and potent of his people; but he did commaund, that everie man of the sonnes of Israel (were he rich or were he poore), that came in compt from twentie yeares and upward, should yearely pay half a sicle[3] for an oblation to the Lorde in the remembrance of their redemption, and for an expiation or clensing to their soules; which money God commaunded should be bestowed upon the ornaments and necessaries of the tabernacle of testimonie. He

Exod. 30.

[1] In the original, usually printed "knolledge."

[2] "All man," every man.

[3] "Sicle," the French term for *Shekel*, the ancient weight or coin among the Jews. "Shekel, an ancient Jewish coin, equal to four Attick drachms, or four Roman denarii, in value about 2s. 6d. sterling."—(Johnson's Dictionary.) Payments were usually made by weight, and Dr Arbuthnot makes the weight of the Shekel to have been equal to 9 dwts. 2¼ grains, Troy-weight, and the value, 2s. 3⅜d. sterling.

furthermore added a precept, that the riche should give no more for that use, and in that behalf, then should the poore; neither yet that the poore should give any lesse than should the riche in that consideration. This law, to mannes reason and judgement, may appear verie unreasonable. For some riche man might have geven a thousand sicles with lesse hurt of his substance, then some poore man might have payed the half sicle. And yet God maketh all equal, and will that the one shall pay no more then the other, neither yet the poore any lesse then the riche. This law, I say, may appeare verie unequall. But if the cause which God addeth be observed, we shall fynde in the same the great mercie and inestimable wisdome of God to appear, which cause is expressed in these wordes:

"This money receaved from the children of Israel, thou shalt geve in the service of the Tabernacle, that it may be to the children of Israel for a remembrance before the Lord, that he may be mercifull to your soules." Exod. 30.

This cause, I say, doth evidently declare, that as the whole multitude was delivered from the bondage of Egypt by the mightie power of God alone, so was everie membre of the same, without respect of person, sanctified by his grace, the riche in that behalf nothing preferred to the poorest. For by no merit nor worthynes of man was he moved to choose and to establishe his habitation and dwellinge amongest them. But their felicitie, prerogative, and honour, which they had above all other nations, proceded only from the fontaine of his eternal goodnes, who loved them freely, as that he freely had chosen them to be his preestlie kingdome and holie people from all nations of the earth. Thus to honour them, that he would dwell in the midest of them, he neither was moved, I say, by the wisdome of the wise, by the riches of the potent, neither yet by the vertue and holynes of any estate amongest them; but of mere goodnes did he love them, and with his presence did he honour that whole people; and therefore to paynt owt the same, his commune love to the whole multitude, and to cutt of occasions of Exod. 19.

contention and doubtes of conscience, he would receave no more from the riche then from the poore, for the maintenance of that his Tabernacle, by the which was represented his presence and habitation amongest them. Yf the riche had bene preferred to the poore, then as the one should have bene puffed up with pride, as that he had bene more acceptable to God, by reason of his greater gift, so should the conscience of the other have bene troubled and wounded, thinking that his povertie was an impediment, that he could not stand in so perfecte favour with God as did the other, because he was not able to geve so much as did the rich, to the mentenance of his Tabernacle. But He who of mercie (as said is) did choose his habitation amongst them, and also that best knoweth what lieth within man, did provide the remedie for the one and for the other, making them equal in that behalfe, who in other thinges were most unequal. Yf the poore should have founde himselfe greved by reason of that taxe, and that as much was imposed upon hym as upon the riche, yet had he no small cause of joy that God himselfe would please to compare hym, and to make hym equal in the mentenance of his Tabernacle, to the most riche and potent in Israel. Yf this equalitie was commaunded by God for mentenance of that transitorie Tabernacle, which was but a shadowe of a better to come, is not the same required of us who now hath the veritie, which is Christ Jesus? who being clad with our nature is made Immanuel, that is, God with us. "Whose natural bodie, albeit it be receaved in the heavens, where he must abyde till all be complete that is forespoken by the Prophetes; yet hath he promised to be present with us to the end of the world."

The presence of God represented in the Tabernacle.

Hebr. 9.

Isaie 8. Act. 3. Mat. 28

And for that purpose, and for the more assurance of his promisse, he hath erected amongest us here in earthe the signes of his owne presence with us, his Spiritual tabernacle, the true preaching of his Worde, and right administration of his Sacramentes: To the mentenance whereof is no lesse bounde the subject then the Prince, the poore then the riche. For as the

The spiritual Tabernacle and signes of Christes presence with us.

price which was geven for mannes redemption is one; so requireth God, of all that shalbe partakers of the benefites of the same, a like duetie, which is a plaine confession that by Christ Jesus alone we have receaved what soever was lost in Adam. Of the Prince doth God require, that he refuse[1] hymselfe, and that he folow Christ Jesus; of the subject he requireth the same. Of the Kinges and Judges it is required, that they kysse the Sonne, that is, give honour, subjection, and obedience to hym. And from such reverence doth not God exempt the subject that shalbe saved. And this is that equalitie which is betwixt the Kinges and subjectes, the most riche or noble, and betwixt the poorest and men of lowest estate; to wit, that as the one is oblished to beleve in heart, and with mouth to confesse, the Lord Jesus to be the onlie Saviour of the world, so also is the other. Neither is there anie of Goddes children (who hath attained to the years of discretion) so poore, but Note.
that he hath thus much to bestow upon the ornamentes and maintenance of their Spiritual tabernacle, when necessitie requireth; neither yet is there anie so rich, of whose hande God requireth any more. For albeit that David gathered greate 1 Par. 29. 2 Para. 3, 4, & 5. substance for the buylding of the Temple; that Salomon with 2 Para. 29. 30. & 35. earnest diligence and incredible expenses erected and finished the same; that Ezechias and Josias purged the religion which before was corrupted; yet to them was God no further dettour in that respect, then he was to the most simple of the faithfull posteritie of faithfull Abraham. For theyr diligence, zeal, and workes, gave rather testimonie and confession before men, what honour they did bear to God, what love to his worde and reverence to his religion, then that any worke proceading from them did either establishe or yet encrease Goddes favoure towardes them, who freely did love them in Christ his Sonne, before the foundation of the world was laied. So that these forenamed by theyr notable workes gave testimonie of theyr unfained faith, and the same doth the poorest, that unfeanedly

[1] "Refuse," deny, reject.

and openly professeth Christ Jesus, that doth embrase his glad tydinges offred, that doth abhorre superstition, and flie from idolatrie. The poorest, I say, and most simple that this day in earth, in the daies of this cruel persecution, fermely beleveth in Christ, and boldly doth confesse hym before this wicked generation, is no lesse acceptable before God, neither is judged in his presence to have done any lesse in promoting Christ his cause, then is the King, that, by the sworde and power which he hath receaved of God, wrooteth owt idolatrie, and so advanceth Christes glorie. But to return to our former purpose, it is no lesse required, I say, of the subject to beleve in Christ, and to professe his true religion, then of the Prince and King. And therefore I affirme, that in Goddes presence it shall not excuse you to alledge that ye were no chefe rulers, and therefore that the care and reformation of Religion did not appertaine unto you.

Ye, dear Brethren, (as before is said,) are the creatures of God, created to his owne image and similitude, to whome it
Mat. 17. is commaunded to hear the voyce of your heavenlie Father, to embrase his Sonne Christ Jesus, to flie from all doctrine and religion which he hath not approved by his own will revealed to us in his most blessed Worde. To which preceptes and charges, if ye be founde inobedient, ye shall perish in your iniquitie, as rebelles and stubborn servantes, that have no pleasure to obey the good will of their soveraigne Lord, who most lovingly doth call for your obedience: And therefore, Brethren, in this behalf it is your part to be carefull and diligent. For
Note the question is not of thinges temporall, which althoghe they be endaungered, yet by diligence and processe of tyme may after be redressed, but it is of the damnation of your bodies and soules, and of the losse of the life everlasting, which once lost can never be recovered. And therefore, I say, that it behoveth you to be careful and diligent in this so weghtie a matter, lest that ye, contemnyng this occasion, which God now offereth, fynd not the like, althoghe that after with gronyng

and sobbes, ye languyshe for the same. And that ye be not ignorant of what occasion I mean, in few words I shall expresse it.

THE OFFER OF JOHN KNOXE TO HIS NATIVE REALME.

Not only I, but with me also divers other godlie and learned men do offer unto you our labours, faithfully to instruct you in the waies of the Eternal our God, and in the synceritie of Christes Evangel, which this day, by the pestilent generation of Antichrist, (I mean, by the Pope, and by his most ungodlie Clergie,) are almost hyd from the eies of men. We offer to jeopard our lives for the salvation of your soules, and by manifest Scriptures to prove that Religion, which amongest you is mentained by fier and sworde, to be vaine, fals, and diabolical.

What he requireth.

We require nothing of you, but that paciently ye will heare our doctrine, which is not ours, but is the doctrine of salvation revealed to the world by the onlie Sonne of God; and that ye will examine our reasons, by the which we offer to prove the Papistical religion to be abominable before God. And last we require, that by your power the tyrannie of those cruel beastes, (I mean of Preests and Freers) may be brideled, till we have uttered our mindes in all matters this day debateable in Religion. Yf these thinges, in the fear of God, ye graunt to me and unto others, that unfeanedly for your salvation and for Goddes glorie require the same, I am assured, that of God ye shall be blessed, whatsoever Satan shall devise against you. But and if ye contemne or refuse God, who thus lovingly offereth unto you salvation and life, ye shall neither escape plagues temporall, which shortly shall apprehend you, neither yet the torment prepared for the Devil, and for his angels, except by spedie repentance ye returne to the Lord, whome now ye refuse, if that ye refuse the Messingers of his worde.

An Answer to Two Questions.

But yet I think ye doubt, what ye oght and may do in this so weghtie a matter. In few wordes, I will declare my conscience in the one and in the other. Ye oght to prefer the glorie of God, the promoting of Christ his Evangel, and the salvation of your soules, to all thinges that be in earth: and ye,

Subjectes may lawfully require true Preachers of theyr rulers.

althoghe ye be but subjectes, may lawfully require of your superiours, be it of your King, be it of your Lordes, rulers, and powers, that they provide for you true Preachers, and that they expell such as, under the name of Pastours, devoure and destroy the flock, not feeding the same as Christ Jesus hath commaunded. And if in this point your superiours be negligent, or yet pretend to maintaine tyrantes in their tyrannie, most justly ye may provide true teachers for yourselves, be it in your cities, townes, or villages: them ye may maintaine and defend against all that shall persecute them, and by that meanes shall labour to defraude you of that most confortable foode of your soules, Christes Evangel truely preached. Ye may, moreover, withhold the frutes and profetts which your fals Byshoppes and Clergie most injustly receyve of you, unto such tyme as they be compelled faithfully to do theyr charge and dueties, which is to preach unto you Christ Jesus truely, ryghtly to minister his Sacramentes according to his own institution, and so to watche for the salvation of your soules, as is commaunded by Christ Jesus hymselfe, and by his Apostles Paul and Peter. Yf God shall move your heartes in his true fear to begynne to practise these thinges, and to demaund and crave the same of your superiours, which most lawfully ye may do, then I doubt not, but of his great mercie and free grace, he shall illuminate the eyes of your myndes, that his undoubted veritie shalbe a lantern to your feete to guyde and lead you in all the wayes which his godlie wisdome doth approve. He shall make your ennemies tremble before your faces; he shall establish his blessed Evangel amongest you, to the salvation and perpetual comfort of yourselves, and of your posteritie after you. But and if (as God forbyd) the love of frendes, the fear of your Princes, and the wisdome of the world, draw you back from God and from his Sonne Christ Jesus, be ye certainly persuaded, that ye shall drink the cupp of his vengeance; so many, I mean, as shall contemne and dispise this loving calling of your heavenlie Father. It will not excuse you, dear

Joan. 21. Act. 20.

Thinges that may draw men back from the synceritie of Christes Evangel.

Brethren, in the presence of God, neither yet will it availe you in the day of his visitation, to say, We were but simple subjects, we could not redresse the faultes and crimes of our rulers, byshoppes, and clergie: we called for Reformation, and wished for the same; but Lords brethren were Byshoppes, theyr sonnes were Abbottes, and the frendes of greate men had the possession of the Churche, and so were we compelled to give obedience to all that they demaunded. These vaine excuses, I say, will nothing availe you in the presence of God, who requireth no lesse of the subjectes then of the rulers, that they decline from evil, and that they do good; that they abstaine from idolatrie, superstition, blasphemie, murther, and other such horrible crimes which his law forbiddeth, and yet not the less are openly committed and maliciously defended in that miserable Realme. And if ye think that ye are innocent, because ye are not the chefe auctours of such iniquitie, ye are utterly deceaved. For God doth not only punishe the chefe offenders, but with them doth he damne the consenters to iniquitie: and all are judged to consent, that, knowing impietie committed, give no testimonie that the same displeaseth them. To speak this matter more playne, as your Princes and Rulers are criminal with your Byshoppes of all idolatrie committed, and of all the innocent blood that is shed for the testimonie of Christes trueth, and that because they maintaine them in theyr tyrannie, so are you, (I mean, so many of you as give no playn confession to the contrarie,) criminal and gyltie, with your Princes and Rulers, of the same crimes, becaus ye assist and maintaine your Princes in theyr blynde rage, and give no declaration that theyr tyrannie displeaseth you.

Rom. 1.

Nota.

Princes and Byshoppes are alyke criminal.

This doctrine, I know, is strange to the blynde world, but the veritie of it hath bene declared in all notable punishments from the begynning. When the original world perished by water, when Sodom and Gomorrha were consumed by fier, and finally, when Jerusalem was horribly destroyed, doth any man think, that all were alyke wicked before the

How Subjectes offend with theyr Princes.

Gen. 7 & 19. Josephus. Ægesippus.

world? Evident it is that they were not, if they shall be judged according to theyr external factes. For some were yonge, and could not be oppressours, neither yet could defile themselves with unnatural and beastlie lustes; some were pitiful and gentle of nature, and did not thrist for the blood of Christ, nor of his Apostles. But did any escape the plagues and vengeance which did apprehend the multitude? Let the Scriptures witnesse, and the histories be considered, which plainely do testifie, that by the waters all fleshe in the Earth at that tyme did perishe, Noah and his familie reserved; that none escaped in Sodom and in the other cities adjacent, except Lot and his two daughters. And evident it is, that in that famous citie Jerusalem, in that last and horrible destruction of the same, none escaped Goddes vengeance except so many as before were dispersed. And what is the cause of this severitie, seing that all were not alike offenders? Let fleshe cease to dispute with God, and let all man, by these examples, learne betymes to flie and avoide the societie and compagnie of the proude contemners of God, if that they list not to be partakers of theyr plages. The cause is evident: if we can be subject, without grudging, to Goddes judgementes, which in themselves are most holie and just. For in the original World none was founde that either did resist tyrannie and oppression, that universally was used, either yet that earnestly reprehended the same. In Sodom was none founde that did againstand that furious and beastlie multitude, that did compasse about and besiege the house of Lot: none would beleve Lot, that the citie should be destroyed. And finally, in Jerusalem was none found that studied to represse the tyrannie of the Preestes, who were conjured against Christ and his Evangil; but all fainted, (I except ever such as gave witnesse with theyr blood or theyr flying, that such impietie displeased them,) all kept silence; by the which all approved iniquitie, and joyned hands with the tyrantes, and so were all arrayed and set, as it had been, in one battayle, against the Omnipotent, and against his Sonne Christ Jesus. For

Why all perished in the Flood, in Sodom and Gomorrha.

whosoever gathereth not with Christ in the day of his harvest, is judged to scatter. And therefore of one vengeance temporal were they all partakers. Which thing, as before I have touched, oght to move you to the depe consideration of your duties in these last and most perilous tymes. The iniquitie of your Byshoppes is more then manifest; theyr filthie lives infect the aier; the innocent blood which they shed crieth vengeance in the eares of our God; the idolatrie and abomination which openly they commit, and without punishment maintaine, doth corrupt and defyle the whole land; and none amongest you doth unfainedly studie for any redresse of such enormities. Will God, in this behalf, hold you as innocentes? Be not deceaved, dear Brethren. God hath punished not only the proude tyrantes, filthie persons, and cruel murtherers, but also such as with them did draw the yoke of iniquitie, was it by flattering theyr offenses, obeying theyr injust commaundementes, or in wynking at theyr manifest iniquitie. All such, I say, hath God once punished with the chefe offenders. Be ye assured, Brethren, that as he is immutable of nature, so will he not pardon in you that which so severely he hath punished in others; and now the lesse, because he hath plainely admonished you of the daungers to come, and hath offred you his mercie, before he poure forth his wrath and displeasure upon the inobedient.

What Subjectes shall God punishe with theyre Princes.

God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is Father of glorie, and God of all consolation, geve you the Spirit of wisdome, and open unto you the knowledge of hymself by the meanes of his dear Sonne, by the which ye may attaine to the esperance and hope, that after the trubles of this transitorious life, ye may be partakers of the riches of that glorious inheritance which is prepared for such as refuse themselves, and feght under the banner of Christ Jesus in the day of this his battaile; that in depe consideration of the same, ye may learn to prefer the invisible and eternal joyes to the vaine pleasures that are present. God further graunt you his Holie Spirit, righteously

to consider what I, in his name, have required of your Nobilitie, and of you the Subjects; and move you all togither so to answer, that my Petition be not a testimonie of your just condemnation, when the Lord Jesus shal appear to revenge the blood of his Sanctes, and the contempt of his most Holie Worde.

AMEN.

Sleap not in syn, for vengeance is prepared against all inobedient. Flie from Babylon, if ye will not be partakers of her plagues.

Be witnesse to my APPELLATION. Grace be with you. From Geneva, the 14. of July 1558.

Your Brother to commaunde in godlines,

JOHN KNOXE.

JOHN KNOXE TO THE READER.[1]

BECAUSE many are offended at the FIRST BLAST OF THE TROMPETT, in whiche I affirme, That to promote a Woman to beare rule or empire above any realme, nation, or citie, is repugnant to Nature, contumelie to God, and a thing moste contrariouse to his revealed and approved Ordenance; and because also, that some hath promised (as I understand) a Confutation of the same, I have delayed the SECOND BLAST till suche tyme as their reasons appere, by the which I either may be reformed in opinion, or els shall have further occasion more simply and plainly to utter my judgement. Yet in the meane tyme, for the discharge of my conscience, and for avoyding suspition, whiche might be ingendred by reason of my silence, I could not cease to notifie these subsequent Propositions, which, by God's grace, I purpose to entreate in the SECOND BLAST promised.

1. It is not birth onely, nor propinquitie of blood, that maketh a Kinge lawfully to reign above a people professing Christe Jesus and his eternall veritie; but in his election must the ordenance, which God hath established in the election of inferiour judges, be observed.

2. No manifest idolater, nor notoriouse transgressor of God's holie preceptes, oght to be promoted to any publike regiment,[2]

[1] This Summary of the proposed SECOND BLAST is printed at the end of Gilby's Admonition, in the volume of Knox's Appellation, Geneva, 1558: See *supra*, page 466.

[2] "Regiment," government.

honour, or dignitie, in any realme, province, or citie, that hath subjected the self[1] to Christe Jesus and to his blessed Evangil.

3. Neither can othe nor promesse bynd any such people to obey and maintein Tyrantes against God and against his trueth knowen.

4. But if either rashely they have promoted any manifest wicked personne, or yet ignorantly have chosen such a one, as after declareth himself unworthie of regiment above the people of God, (and suche be all idolaters and cruel persecuters,) moste justely may the same men depose and punishe him, that unadvysedly before they did nominate, appoint, and electe.

MATTH. VI.

"If the eye be single, the whole body shalbe clere."

[1] "The self," themselves.

APPENDIX:

CONTAINING

ANTHONY GILBY'S ADMONITION

TO ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

M.D.LVIII.

THE circumstance of the following Admonition having formed a portion of the volume containing Knox's Appellation, occasioned the strange mistake of supposing that it was written by him under an assumed name. It is here inserted as an Appendix, from its having been originally combined with his work, and bearing a special reference to the state of affairs at this juncture, when there was no apparent prospect of the change which so speedily took place in England, by the accession of Queen Elizabeth. A brief notice of the Author will not be considered out of place.

ANTHONY GILBY, a native of Lincolnshire,[1] was born about the year 1510. He was educated in the University of Cambridge; and as a Member of Christ's College, he was admitted B. A. in 1531–2, and M. A. in 1535.[2] Whether he obtained any living in England, during the reign of Edward the Sixth, is uncertain. It is, however, by no means improbable, as he had distinguished himself by his learning;[3] and in 1547 had published an answer to the work of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, entitled, "A Detection of the Deuils Sophistrie, wherwith he robbeth the vnlearned people of the true byleef, in the most blessed Sacrament of the aulter. Prynted at London, by Jhon Herforde, at the costes and charges of Roberte Toye, 1546," 8vo. This work also produced a reply from Bishop Hooper.[4] Gardiner published a vindication of his work, entitled, "An Explication and assertion of the true Catholique fayth, touching the moost blessed Sacrament of the aulter; with confutacion of a booke written agaynst the same. Made by Steuen Byshop of Wynchester, and exhibited by his owne hande for his defence to the Kynges Maiesties Commissioners at Lambeth. Anno 1551," 12mo.

[1] Jo. Balæi Scriptores Majoris Britan. Cent. ix., lxxv., p. 725.

[2] "Antonius Gylbe [Lincoln: Coll: Chr:] Art. Bac. an. 1531: Art. Mr. 1535. Regr. Acad."—Baker's MSS. University Library, Cambridge, vol. xxxii. p. 426.

[3] Bale says, "ex trium principalium linguarum notitia, celebre apud Britannos obtinuit nomen."

[4] For Archbishop Cranmer's elaborate "Answer unto a Crafty and Sophisticall Cavilation, &c., 1551," folio, see vol. iii. p. 279, note 4.

In "The Confutation of XIII. Articles, whereunto Nicholas Shaxton, late Bishop of Salisburye, subscribed in 1546, when he recanted in Smithfielde," &c., the author, Robert Crowley, remarks, "If I were required to say my conscience, I coulde not deny but I thinke them (*i. e.* the Articles) to be Winchester's workemanshyp, because they agree so well wyth his doctrine, and that chiefelye in the deuylleishe detection of hys master the Deuylles sophistry, which he set abroad shortly after these Articles of yours. *But woulde God you were as well confuted by me, as he is answered by Anthony Gilbie.*"[1] London, 1548.

Gilby was not likely to escape the Bishop's notice when he regained his influence as Lord Chancellor, and the fierce spirit of persecution was renewed in the reign of Queen Mary, which forced so many of the Protestant ministers into exile. He early withdrew himself from the impending storm; and in the course of that year, 1554, he joined the English Congregation at Frankfurt. In the extracts from the "Brief Discourse" of their Troubles, inserted in the present volume, it will be seen that, in January 1555, an instance of his "humbleness and godly zeal" is recorded in his attempt to prevent the division which scattered the members of that congregation. He was one of the six divines who compiled the Form of Prayers, known as "The Book of Common Order," which is also now reprinted (pages 149 to 214). He continued sometime at Frankfurt, endeavouring to promote "godly peace and unity;" but this proving to be hopeless, after their departure, he united with several of his brethren in writing a letter to those who still remained in that city, in which they explained and undertook "to defende our departure to be lawfull, contrary to the slanderous reportes of some, which unlernedly terme it a schisme." This letter, signed by eighteen persons, among whom were Whittingham, Goodman, Cole, Foxe the martyrologist, Williams, and Keith, is dated the 17th of August.[2] As Gilby was among the number of those who entertained similar views with Knox, he came to Geneva, accompanied by Elizabeth his wife, and Goddred their son,[3] "to use

[1] Sign. Aij.

[2] "A Brieff Discours," &c., pp. 54, 55.

[3] The name of Goddred Gilby appears as the translator of "An Epistle or letter of Exhortation, written in Latyne by Marcus Tullius Cicero, to his brother Quintus the Proconsull or Deputy of Asia, wherein the office of a Magistrate is connyngly and wiselv described," London, 1561, 12mo. (Herbert, p. 802.) Also, of Calvin's "Admonition against Astrology Judiciall," printed at London by Roulande Hall, without date, but about 1562, 12mo. (Ib. p. 806.)

the benefit of the church then newly granted," 13th of October 1555. On the 1st of November, when the church was erected, Christopher Goodman and Anthony Gilby were "appointed to preche the Word of God and mynyster the Sacraments, in the absence of John Knox." Bishop Bale, in his brief notice of Gilby, in 1557, concludes with the words, "He now resides at Geneva, a stranger and exile for the cause of Christ," (Vivit nunc Genevæ, pro Christi veritate peregrinus et exul.) At the subsequent elections of Office-bearers, on the 16th of December, in the years 1556, 1557, and 1558, Gilby was chosen one of the Seniors or Elders. He assisted in the translation of the Bible, known as the Genevan version, which was first printed at Geneva in 1560, with a dedication to Queen Elizabeth.

The precise time when Gilby returned to England, and the date of his preferment to the Vicarage of Ashby de la Zouch in Leicestershire, have not been ascertained. It was at least not later than the year 1564. This preferment was in the gift of the Earl of Huntingdon, to whose family he continued to express his attachment, and by whom he was greatly esteemed. As one of the Puritan ministers who adhered as much as possible to the discipline of the Church of Geneva, and who exerted themselves to effect some further reformation in the Church of England, his prospects of preferment were not advanced. Archbishop Parker, for the purpose of binding the clergy to a more exact conformity, by wearing the habits and observing the ceremonies to which the Puritans were so much opposed, directed the Archbishop of York to prosecute Gilby, Whittingham, and others. But Grindal, who was averse to all severe measures, in regard to Gilby replied, that as he dwelt in Leicestershire, and was out of his province, he could not proceed against him; and that his case should be referred to the Commissioners in the South.[1] It is probable that it was through the influence of his patron, the Earl of Huntingdon, that he escaped the persecution to which many of his brethren were exposed. Strype,[2] in reference to one of his works, written in 1566, under the form of a Dialogue between a Soldier of Berwick and an English Chaplain, says, "It had been suppress (that is, withheld from the press) for some years upon the hope of reformation; but now, after very many ministers had been deposed for their non-compliance with the Orders of the Church, the Author set forth his book, bitter enough, and full of scoffs

[1] Strype's Life of Parker, p. 320, and Life of Grindal, p. 176.

[2] Annals of the Reformation, vol. i., 2d edit., p. 488.

and taunts, bearing this title, 'A pleasant Dialogue,'" &c. His own words, written probably in 1571, are, "This Dialogue was written almost seven yeares ago, but because there was hope of reformation soone after, therefore was it of charitie by the writer suppressed. But now that no hope remayneth, it is thought good that the follie of the persecutors bee made knowne unto all, that will see it, or read it." It is prefaced with his godly and zealous letter "To his Reverend Fathers and Brethren, that labour to root out the weeds of Popery." Dr Fuller, in his Worthies of England,[1] mentions Gilby as being, after his return from exile, "a fierce, fiery, and furious opposer of the Church Discipline established in England;" and in his Church History,[2] he adduces as "the fierce (not to say furious) sticklers against Church-Discipline," Gilby, Whittingham, and Goodman. These three, he says, "were certainly the *Antesignani* of the fierce Non-Conformists."

In 1580, Gilby published a translation of Theodore Beza's version and Paraphrase of the Psalms. It is dated from Ashby, 7th March 1579-[80], and inscribed to "the Right Honourable and vertuous Lady, the Lady Katherine Countesse of Huntingdon, mine especiall good Lady." It begins, "Right honourable my singuler good Lady, I can write no pleasant thinges, the which the great States much desire, neither any eloquent termes which this world doeth require, but as your Honour doeth know my rude simplicitie, (yet through Gods great mercy alwayes grounded uppon his infallible veritie) it pleaseth your Honour to give me leave sometimes to write unto you: And nowe having gathered some profite my selfe, by a booke of that excellent Theodore Beza written in Latine, and dedicate to my most honourable Lord; so am I bold to put foorth some part of the same into Englishe, which I thought most expedient for you, and to present it to your Honour, with this short preface." After referring to the state of England, and the necessity for seeking God's mercies, Gilby adds,— "Now as the Latin Psalmes of Beza belong to my most honourable Lord by right, as dedicate and sent unto him from far, so these Englishe Psalmes translated at home by one of your servauntes (who is wholly my Lords and yours in the service of the great Lord) do by as good right pertaine to your Honour, who but by some such means of translation can have small commoditie of the others, although you have some propertie

[1] Lincolnshire, p. 167. [2] Book ix., p. 76.

therein, because it is my Lord's your husband's, to whom if mine old forworne rude simplicity, unfit for this fine world, could have brought forth any thing worthy his Honour, I would not have bene so long silent." This lady was daughter to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and the wife of Henry third Earl of Huntingdon, K.G., who succeeded to the title in June 1561, and who died at York s. p. December 14, 1595, and was buried at Ashby. She survived till August 14. 1620.

The industrious and learned antiquary, Thomas Baker, in his Collections relating to Cambridge, now deposited in the University Library of Cambridge,[1] has transcribed a series of original letters "from several noted Puritans," addressed to him at Ashby, from 1565 to 1584; and states that Gilby lived there, "as great as a Bishop." The first letter is from Dr Robert Beaumont, of Trinity College, who styles him, "Myne auncient and godlie learned friend, Mr Antonie Gilbie at Ashbie, in the Countie of Leicestre." Thomas Sampson, another of the Genevan exiles, addresses his letters "To the reverend Father in God, my good Elder Brother, Mr Gilbie at Ashbye." Other correspondents were Dr Laurence Humphrey, John Field, Thomas Wilcocks, Laurence Thomson, and Thomas (Bentham) Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. Baker adds, "there are some of his [Gilby's] letters, most torn," but he gives no reference in whose possession the originals were preserved. Some of the letters are printed in Brook's History of the Puritans, but incorrectly.

The date of Gilby's decease is not stated. It was probably in 1585, as we find a letter addressed to him on the 8th of March 1584–[5]. In the list of Vicars of Ashby, contained in Nichols's History, his son, Nathaniel Gilby, is entered as having been admitted on the 8th of December 1582. There is some reason to doubt whether he ever held this appointment; nor could his admission have taken place on that day, as "Nath. Gilby, Coll. Chr., admissus in matriculam Acad. Cant. Dec. 8. 1582, cum esset cooptandus in ordinem Bac."[2] Gilby's assistant and successor was Thomas Wyddowes: he was admitted in 1583; and it would seem he was his son-in-law. From a

[1] In recently examining this portion of Baker's Manuscripts, and some other sources of information regarding Gilby, I beg to express my best thanks to A. Jessop, Esq., and J. E. B. Mayor, Esq., of St John's, for their kind assistance.

[2] Baker's MSS., vol. xxxii. p. 438. Nichols's History of the County of Leicester, vol. iii. pp. 619, 635.

letter, written by J. Ireton, from Cambridge, 8th May 1578 we learn that young Gilby had been placed under the charge of Mr Dickenson, "*as your sonne Mr Widdowes may inform you;* as Mr Chaderton taketh none to his tuition." When a vacancy occurred by the death of Wyddowes, in 1593, Arthur Hildersham, an eminent divine, was presented to the vicarage by his noble kinsman, the patron, Henry Earl of Huntingdon, who held the important office of Lord President of the Council at York. The letter addressed to Hildersham is dated, "At York, hastily, 5. Julij 1593," and begins, "Since it hath pleased the Lord to call Tho. Wyddowes to his mercye who was (in my opinion) both faithfull, carefull, and diligent in his function, according to his talent; *I do wish with all my heart the supply of that place to be such, as that which good* FATHER GILBIE *and he,* by the good providence and mercy of God, *have planted in and about Ashby, may be continued and encreased.* Therefore, I chuse to present you into that pastoral charge of Ashby," &c.[1] The Earl, in a postscript adds, "To the comfort of the poore widowe, I will take some care."

Dr Joseph Hall, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, who was a native of Ashby, in the account of his parentage, mentions "the reverend and (in his time) famous divine, Mr Antony Gilby under whose ministry" his mother lived; while he himself came under the tuition of Mr Nathaniel Gilby, Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge, and continued so for six years. In his "Observations of some specialities of Divine Providence" in his own life, Hall relates that Gilby resigned his Fellowship upon the promise of being amply provided for at York by "that incomparably religious and noble Earl of Huntingdon;" and that the very day before Hall was elected to the vacant fellowship, Gilby was deprived of such expectations by the unexpected death of Lord Huntingdon, 1st December 1595.

The following is considered to be a near approach to a complete list of Gilby's writings. We might perhaps include the letter prefixed to Knox's Admonition in 1554 (vol. iii. p. 259.)

1. "An answver to the deuillish detection of Stephane Gardiner, Bishoppe of Wynchester, published to the intent that such as be desirous of the truth should not be seduced by hys errours, nor the blind & obstinate excused by ignorance. Compiled by A. G. Anno. 1547. the 24. of January," contains 217

[1] Nichols's History of the County of Leicester, vol. iii. p. 626.

folios, in small 8vo. (Herbert's Typogr. Antiq. p. 1562, who considers it to have been printed abroad; but who has a reference at p. 451 to an edition of the same date, printed at London by Thomas Berthelet.) On the last page, a wood-cut of St John the Evangelist.

2. "A Commentarye vpon the Prophet Mycha. Wrytten by Antony Gilby. Anno Domi. M.D.LI. (colophon,) Imprinted at London by Jhon Daye, dwelling over Aldersgate, beneth Saint Martins, 1551," small 8vo, A to O 7, in eights. The last leaf contains "A Prayer for the Kyng." (Herbert, p. 627; Lea Wilson's Catalogue, p. 293.) Another edition, with the same title and date, but no place or printer's name, 1551, 12mo. (Ib., p. 294.) The two editions correspond page for page, the orthography being somewhat altered, and the colophon omitted. Both editions are in the University Library, Cambridge.

3. "Anth. Gilbie his Commentarie on Malachie. London, printed by John Day," no date, 8vo. (Catalogue of English printed Bookes, by Andrew Maunsell, p. 54. London, 1595, folio.) Herbert and Dibdin, not having seen the book, refer to Maunsell. It may be assigned to the year 1553, from the reference made to it by the author in his Treatise on Election. "Whereas three yeares ago, dearely beloved, I did write of this matter of Election and Reprobation, which is called Predestination, in a certayn *Commentarie upon the Prophet Malachie*, by the occasion of this text, 'I have loved Jacob, and I have hated Esau;' the which Treatise, by the rage of persecution, partly perished, and parte dyd come of late to my hands: accompting this doctrine so necessarie, that upon all occasions it ought with reverence to be uttred to the glory of God," &c.

4. "Anth. Gilbie his Treatise of Election and Reprobation, with certain Answers to the Obiections of the Adversaries of this doctrine. Printed at Geneva, by James Poulain and Hen. Houdouin, 1556," 16mo. (Maunsell's Catalogue, p. 54.) Another edition, "A Briefe Treatise of Election and Reprobation, with certen Answers to the Obiections of the Aduersaries of thys doctrine; Wrytten by Anthonie Gylbie.—Imprinted at London, by David Moptid and John Mather." It has no date, and was added to a republication of "A briefe Declaration of the chiefe Poyntes of Christian Religion, set foorth in a Table made by Theodore Beza. Englished by W. Whittingham." (Herbert, p. 884.) This had also been first printed at Geneva, by Jo. Riuery, 1556. (Maunsell, p. 9. Herbert, p. 1595.) A third edition was printed with a similar treatise on Elec-

tion, by John Foxe, in "The Treasure of Truth," &c., by Theodore Beza. At London, for Thomas Woodcock, 1581, small 8vo. (Herbert, p. 1107–8.)

5. "De Libero Arbitrio, lib. 1." This work is specified by Bale, in 1557, along with the preceding four, and he adds, "Et alia, librosque aliorum plures transtulit." (Script. M. Brit. p. 725.)

6. "An Admonition to England and Scotland to call them to Repentance. By Anth. Gilbie. Imprinted at Geneua by John Crispine, 1558." This edition is quoted by Tho. Stapleton, in his "A Counterblast to M. Horne's vayne Blaste againste M. Fekenham," p. 23. Lovanii, 1567, 4to. (Herbert, pp. 1599, 1623.) The mention of the printer's name seems to indicate a separate publication, but the page referred to corresponds with that of Knox's volume, in the same year, which is here reprinted.

7. The Geneva Bible: "The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated according to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred with the best Translations in diuers languages, &c. At Geneva. Printed by Rowland Hall. M.D.LX." 4to. This version was for many years the one most generally used in England, and it went through at least fifty editions before the year 1600. The Translators were Myles Coverdale, Anthony Gilby, William Whittingham, Christopher Goodman, Thomas Sampson, and Thomas Cole; to whom some add, John Knox, John Bodleigh, William Kethe, and John Pullein.

8. "A pleasaunt Dialogue, betweene a Souldior of Barwicke and an English Chaplaine; wherein are largely handled and laide open, such reasons as are brought in for maintenaunce of Popishe Traditions in our English Church, &c. Togither with a letter of the same Author, placed before this booke in way of a Preface. 1581." Small 8vo. It had no doubt been previously printed. The letter is dated from London the x. of May 1566. A second title, on the reverse of B. 1. is as follows: "A pleasaunt Dialogue, conteining a large discourse betweene a Souldier of Barwick and an English Chaplain, who of a late Souldier was made a Parson, and had gotten a pluralitie of Benefices, and yet had but one eye, and no learning: but he was priestly apparailed in al points, and stoutly maintained his Popish attire, by the authoritie of a booke lately written against London Ministers." The Preface to this work is addressed "To my Reverent Fathers and Brethren in Christ,

Master Couerdale, Mai. Turner, M. Whittingham, M. Sampson, M. Doctor Humphrey, M. Leuer, M. Crowley, and others that labour to roote out the weedes of Poperie. Signed A. G." (Herbert, p. 1657.) This letter is inserted under Gilbie's name, with the date 1570, at p. 12, in the well-known collection entitled, "A parte of a register," &c., which was printed, as it appears, at Edinburgh, by Robert Waldegrave, in 1593, but suppressed.

9. "Commentaries of that diuine Iohn Caluine, vpon the Prophet Daniell, translated into Englishe, especially for the use of the family of the ryght honorable Earle of Huntington, to set forth as in a glasse, how one may profitably read the Scriptures, by consideryng the text, meditatyng the sense therof, and by prayer. At London, imprinted by Iohn Daye, ouer Aldersgate. 1570." 4to, title, 11 leaves and 120. The address "To the Reader" is signed A. G., which Herbert, p. 649, supposed to indicate Arthur Golding, the translator of other works of Calvin, and of various Classics both in prose and verse. It may, however, be noticed, that Golding's name appears uniformly at full length on his translations, while the initals "A. G." were used by Gilby; but besides the allusion to his having been one of Calvin's scholars (at Geneva), the words on the title in reference to Gilby's patron leave little doubt on the subject.

This volume is confined to the first six chapters of Daniel. The following is the Translator's Address: "To the Reader. —Good Reader, blame not this thyng, I besech thee, which I have done in this plaine and rude sort, for the commoditie of the simple and unlearned; whom I did thinke unable to comprehende in theyr mindes and to apply unto their consciences these learned Commentaries of this divine Calvine, unles they were somethyng abridged, and the expositions of the Hebrue wordes, which would have bene somethyng darke in our language, omitted. Wherfore, as I do profess myselfe to bee one of his scholers, and do prayse God for the same more then for any earthly matter, so do I not of arrogancie alter or change any thing in his writynges. But because I do know right well, that if he were alyue hym selfe, he would suffer all his doings to be applyed to the commoditie of the Church: therfore now, when I do offer his trauayles to the unlearned of our English nation, who are desirous of the same, I do so present them as may be most comfortable to their conscience, and least tedious to such simple persons as are not able to comprehend all his large and learned discourses. And this abbrydgement do I make but in

the two first chapters, and in few places besides: putting into print at the present the one halfe of the booke of DANIELL, conteyning the first vj. Chapiters, which do treate of the particular hystories wrought by God in hys tyme, and therfore semeth unto me farre diverse from the latter vj. Chapters, wherin he prophecieth of all thynges that should come unto the elect people untill the commyng of Messias, and toucheth also somethynges that be generall unto all, even to the end of the world. The which latter part also I do meane (by God's grace) to publish for the instruction of our nation in these obscure Prophecies, if I can perceave this former travayle to be well accepted of the godly, which is my desire, and whom I do exhorte in the Lord to read the Scriptures attentyvely, to meditate the same diligently, to pray continually. A. G."

10. "A Viewe of Antichrist, his Lawes and Ceremonies, in our English Church unreformed." This tract was probably printed at the time between 1570 and 1572; and it is republished in the volume already quoted, "A parte of a Register," &c., p. 55–72.

11. "The Psalmes of Dauid, truely opened and explained by Paraphrasis, according to the right sense of euery Psalme. With large and ample Arguments, &c. Set foorthe in Latin by that excellent learned man, Theodore Beza: And faithfully translated into English by Anthonie Gilbie. At London, printed by Iohn Harison and Henrie Middleton, 1580," 24mo, pp. xv. & 400. Another edition, "And by him newlie purged from sundrie faultes escaped in the first print," &c. [London,] printed by Henrie Denham, 1581, 24mo. A third edition. London, printed by Richard Yardley and Peter Short, for the assignees of W. Seres. 1590, pp. xiv. and 368, 24mo.

12. "A Paraphrastical Explanation, or Opening of Fourteen holie Psalmes chosen out of the booke of the old and new Testament: and may very aptlie be ioined with Davids Psalter. Latelie written in Latin by that great learned man Theodore Beza, and now newlie englished by Anthonie Gilbie. Imprinted at London by Richard Yardley and Peter Short, 1590," 24mo, pp. 77, and a table. These "Psalms" consist of the Song of Thankesgiving by Moses—Another Psalme of Moses —A triumphant Song of Deborah—&c. This little volume was printed at the same time, and intended to accompany the above 1590 edition of Beza's Psalms. The two are so bound in a copy in the University Library, Cambridge.

AN ADMONITION TO ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, TO CALL THEM TO REPENTANCE. WRITTEN BY ANTONY GILBY.

WHEREAS many have written many profitable Admonitions to you twaine, (O England and Scotland, both makinge one Island, most happie if you could know your own happines); somme[1] against the Regiment of Women,[2] wherewith ye are both plaged; somme against Unlawful Obedience,[3] and the admitting of strangers to be your Kinges; somme declaring the vile nature of the Spaniards,[4] whome thou, O England, to thy destruction, mainteinest; somme the pryde of the Frenchmen, whome thou, O Scotland, to thy ruine, receavest; and many hundrethes with penne, with tonge, with worde, with writing, with jeopardie and losse of landes, goods, and lyves, have admonished you bothe twaine of that cankred poyson of Papistrie, that ye foster and pamper to your own perdition, and utter destruction of soules and bodies, of yourselves and yours for now and ever. I thought it my ductie, (seing your destruction, to man's judgement, to draw so neare,) how much or litle so ever they have prevailed, yet once againe, to admonishe you both to give testimonie to that trueth which my Brethren have written, and specially to stirre your hearts to repentance, or at least to offre myselfe a witnesse against you, for the justice of God and his righteous judgementes, which doubtles (if your hearts be hardned) against you both are at hand to be uttered. Thus by our writings, whome it pleaseth God to styrre up of your nations, all men that now live, and that shall comme after us, shall have cause also to praise the mercie of God, that so oft admonisheth before

[1] The peculiar orthography in the original of such words as *somme, plaged, becomme*, for some, plagued, become, it was not thought necessary to alter.

[2] Knox's First Blast.

[3] Goodman on Obedience to Superior Powers.

[4] The alliance of Mary with Philip the Second of Spain gave rise to various publications filled with abuse of the Spaniards, such as "A Warnyng for England," in 1555, and "John Bradford's (not the martyr) Letter to the Erles of Arundel, Darbie," &c. See Herbert's Typogr. Antiq., vol. iii. p. 1582.

he do stryke, and to consider his just punyshment when he shall poure furth his vengeance. Give eare therefore betymes, O Britanie, (for of that name both rejoyseth) whiles the Lord calleth, exhorteth, and admonisheth, that is the acceptable tyme when he will be founde. Yf ye refuse the tyme offred, ye can not have it afterward, thogh with teares (as did Esau) ye do seme to seke it. Yet once againe in Goddes behalfe, I do offre you the verie meanes, which if God of his mercies graunte you grace to folow, I doubt nothing but that of al your ennemies spedely ye shall be delivered. Ye rejoyce at this word, I am sure, if ye have ani hope of the perfourmance. Then harken to the matter which I do write unto you, not furth of mennes dreames nor fables, not furth of prophane historics, painted with mannes wisdome, vaine eloquence, or subtile reasons, but furth of the infallible trueth of Goddes worde, and by such plaine demonstrations, as shall be able to convince everie one of your owne consciences, be he never so obstinate. I will aske no further judges. Is not this Goddes curse and threatninge, amongest many other, pronounced against the sinfull land and
Deut. 28. disobedient people? "That strangers should devoure the frute of thy land; that the stranger should clyme above thee, and thou should comme downe and be his inferiour; he shall be the head and thou the taile. The Lord shall bring upon thee a people farr of, whose tongue thou canste not understand; thy strong walles, wherin thou trusted, shall be destroied," &c.

And doth not Esaie recken this also as the extremitie of all plages for the wickednes of the people, to have "Women raised up to rule over you?" But what saieth the same Prophete, in the begynnyng of his prophesie, for a remedie against these
Esa. 3. and all other evilles? "Your handes are full of blood, (saieth he,) O you Princes of Sodom, and you people of Gomorrhe; but washe you, make you cleane, take away your wicked thoghts furth of my sight. Cease to do evil, learn to do well, seke judgement, help the oppressed, &c. Then will I turn my hand to thee, and trie owt all thy drosse, and take away thy tynne; and I will restore thy judges, as afore tyme, and counsilours as of old." And Moses said before, in the place alledged,
Deut. 28. "That if thou wilt heare the voice of the Lorde thy God, and do his commaundementes, thou shalt be blessed in the towne, and blessed in the feelde. The Lorde shall cause thyne ennemies that rise up against thee, to fall before thee," &c.

Lo, the way in few wordes, O Britanie, to winne Goddes favour, and therefore to overcome thyne ennemies. But to

prynt this more deeply into your heartes, O ye Princes and People of that iland, whome God hath begonne to punishe, seke, I warne you, no shifting holes to excuse your faultes, no political practises to resist Goddes vengeance. And first, I speak to you, (O Rulers and Princes of both the Realmes,) repent your treason, and bewaile your unthankfulnes. For by no other meanes can you escape Goddes judgementes. You stomack, I know, to be called traitours, but what shall it availe to spare the name where the facts are more then evident. You hath God erected amongest your brethren, to the end that, by your wisdome and godlie regiment, your subjectes should be kept aswell from domestical oppression as from bondage and slaverie of strangers. But ye, alas! declininge from God, are made the instrumentes to betray and sell the libertie of those for whome ye oght to have spent your lives. For your consent and assistance is the cause that strangers now oppresse and devoure the poore within your Realmes, who shortly, if God call you not to repentance, shall recompence you as ye have deserved. For the cupp which your brethren do now drink shall be put in your handes, and you shall drink the dreggs of yt to your destruction. And wonder it is if ye be becomme so foolishe and so blynd, that ye think yourselves able long to continue, and to be safe when your brethren rounde about you shall perishe; that you can pack your matters well enough with the Princes; that ye can make you stronge with mariages, with flateries, and other fonde practises; or that with your multitude or strengthe ye can escape the daies of vengeance; or that you can hide yourselves in holes or corners. Nay, thoghe you should hyde you in the hels, God can drawe you thence: if you had the egles wynges to flie beyonde the east seas, you cannot avoid Goddes presence. Submitt yourselves therefore unto Hym, which holdeth your breath in your nostrels, who with one blast of his mouth can destroy all his ennemies. Embrase his sonne Christ, lest ye perishe; and for your obstinacie against hym and his Worde, repent betymes, as we all do admonishe. Repent for your crueltie against his servants and the contempt of his Worde so plainely offred, as it was never sence the begynnyng of the world. Repent, we cry, Repent. For repentance is the onlie way of your redresse and deliverance. Did God ever longe spare any people, whome he hath taught by his Prophetes, without somme evident repentance? Or useth any father to pardon his childe, whome he hathe begonne to chastice,

without somme token of repentance? Consider how the Lord hath intreated Israel and Juda, his owne people; how oft they trespassed, and how he gave them over into the hand of their ennemies. But whensoever they repented and turned againe to God unfeanedly, he sent them judges and deliverers, kinges and saviours.

This way then of repentance, and unfeaned turning to God by obedience, is the onlie way before God accepted and alowed. Therefore was Noah sent to the old world to bring this doctrine of repentance, and all the old prophetes, as Elias, Elisæus, Esaias, Jeremias, and Malachias, and he who excelled all the prophetes, John Baptist. Any of whose stiles, and sharpe rebukes of synners, if I should now use it, would be thoght full strange, and hardely would be suffered; yet were any of their lessons, wherebie they called to repentance, most mete for our tyme and age, and no thinge disagreinge from this my present purpose. For the same spirit still striveth against the malice of our tymes, thoghe in diverse instrumentes and sundrie sortes and fashions. Noah pronounceth, that within an hundreth and twentie yeares, all fleshe should be destroyed. We have many Noahes that so crieth in our tymes, yet no man repenteth. All the tyme that Noah was preparing for the arke to avoide Goddes vengeance, the multitude derided this holie prophete, as the multitude of you two Realmes doth at this day deride all them that, by obedience to Goddes Worde, seke the meanes appointed to avoide God's judgementes. Then the people would not repent, but as they should live for ever, they maried, they banketed, they builded, they planted, deriding God's messenger. Do not you the like? I appeale to your own consciences. You marie, but not in God, but to betray your countries; you banket and builde with the blood of the poore.

"The Lorde calleth to fasting," saieth the Prophete Esaie, to mortifie themselves, and to kill their lustes, "but they kill shepe and bullockes." Jeremie crieth for teares and lamentation, they laughe and mock. Malachie crieth to the people of his tyme, "Turne unto me and I will turne to you, saieth the Lorde of hostes," and they proudly answer, "Wherein shall we returne?" Are ye not suche? Do not ye aske wherein shall we returne, when ye will not know your sinnes? when ye can not confesse nor acknolledge your faultes, thoghe ye go a hooringe in everie street, towne, and village with your idols? thoghe the blood of the oppressed crie everie where against you for vengeance? So that seyng no token of repentance, I can not

crie unto you with John Baptist, "O ye generation of vipers, who hath taught you to flie from the wrathe to comme?"

O that I might see so good tokens, that ye would fear Goddes wrathe and vengeance. But this must I say to you bothe, to your confusion and shame, that ye are such vipers and serpentes, until I see better tokens. You do what ye can to destroy your parentes; you cast of God your heavenlie Father, ye will not fear hym calling you to repentance; you destroy and banish your spiritual fathers, which once had begotten you as spiritual children by the worde of trueth; you consume your countree, which hath geven you corporal life; you stinge with tounges and tayles all that would draw you from your wickednes. Finally, man, woman, and childe are either venemed with your poysons or stingged with your tayles. In you are fulfilled the wordes of David, "Their throte is an open sepulchre; with theyr tounges they have deceived, the poyson of aspis is under their lippes; their mouthes are full of curse and bitternes; their fete are swift to shedd blood; destruction and wretchednes are in their wayes, and the way of peace they have not knowen; the feare of God is not before there eyes," &c.

I do know your tendre eares, you can not be grated with such sharpe sentences of condemnation that thus prick you to the hearts: howbeit thus it behoveth that ye be taught to judge yourselves, that in the end ye be not damned with the wicked world. But I will wounde you no more with the words of the Prophetes, with the sayinges of David, or of this holy sainct of God, John the Baptist, but with our Saviour Christ's two most swete parables of the two sonnes, and of the tilmen to whome he set his vineyard. I will labour to set before your eyes, your rebellion, hypocrisie, and crueltie, if so I can bring any of you to repentance. Our Saviour Christe putteth furth this parable: "A certaine man had two sonnes, and he came to the first and said, Sonne, go and worke to day in my vineyard: who answered, I will not, but afterward repented and went. Then came he to the second and said likewise; and he answered, I will, Syr, but went not."

Wherein a wonderful comforte first is to be considered, how the Lord our God, Maker of heaven and earth, doth humble himselfe, not only to be called a man, a husband-man, a housholder, and such like, but he abaseth himselfe of mercie to us vile earth and asshes, that his Sonne becometh man to make mankynd glorious in his sight, to make all those, that do not refuse his grace offred, of the slaves of Satan his sonnes by

adoption. You are his sonnes, you are his vineyard, you ar
as dear unto hym as the apple of his eye, as Moses speaketh
if you can beleve it; he sweareth that you shall be his inherit
ance, and he will be yours, if ye will only receave his grace
and beleve hym when he sweareth. Will ye call his trueth
into doubt, his glorie into shame by your misbelefe! Better i
were that all creatures should perish, heaven, man, and angels
then that God should not have credit, or that his glorie in th
least iote should be diminished. He hath called you by hi
Worde now many a tyme to worke in his vineyard; I ask
what you have answered; your conscience can witnesse, and a
the world seeth it. Somme of you have said plaine, lyke rebe
lious children, that ye would not do it; that ye would no
worke in your Father's vineyarde. Shall I applie this part t
Scotland? I may right well do it, and also to a greate parte i
England. But Scotland in dede called most plainely and ev
dently, through the mercies of God, both by their own faithfu
countrie men, and also by earnest travail of our English natio
to comme to the Lord's vineyard, in the tyme of King Edwar
hath to the damage of both continually refused, as the co
science of many this day beareth witnesse. That tyme, as y
know, the vineyarde in England, by the children of God, wa
not all togither neglected, and then most earnestly were ye,
Brethren of Scotland, required to joyne handes with us in th
Lord's worke, but Satan, alas! would not suffer it. His ol
fostred malice, and Antichrist his sonne, could not abyde tha
Christ should grow so strong by joynynge that Ile togither i
perfect religion, whome God hath so many waies coupled an
strengthened by his worke in nature: the Papistes practised a
theyr fyne craftes in England, Scotland, and in France, that th
Ghospellers should not with so strong walles be defensed, le
this one Iland should becomme a safe sanctuarie, as it bega
to be, to all the persecuted in all places. They move sturd
stomackes, they dispens with perjuries, they worke by the
craftie confessions, they raise up warre in the end, whereby y
deare Brethren of Scotland, were sore plaged. Of all the
traiterouse sleghtes ye can not be ignorant. For yet it is n
passed the memorie of man, that your King made promisse
have mett King Henrie the Eight att Yorke,[1] whose purpo

[1] In the autumn of 1541, Sir Ralph Sadler, in his second embassy, obtained a promise from James the Fifth, to meet his uncle, Henry the Eighth, at York. The meeting was to ha taken place in January 1541–2. S vol. i. p. 76, note 3.

(albeit in other things I do not alow him) in that case was most godlie and praiseworthie: for it was to make an end of that ungodlie warre and cruell murther, which longe had continued betwixt the two realms. Your King, I say, made promisse to mete him, the breche whereof, as it was the occasion of much trouble, so is it evidently knowen, that your Cardinal and his clergie laboured and procured the same. For it is not unknown to somme amongest you, how many thousand crownes the Churchmen did promisse for maintenance of the warre, which King Henrie did denounce by the reason of that breche. I suppose they payed little. Superfluous it were to me to recite all the causes moving your pestilent Preestes to solicitat your King to that infidelitie. But this is most evident, that they feared nothing but the fall of their glorie, and the trouble of their kingdome, which then in England beganne to be shaken by suppressing of the Abbaies. This moved your Preestes ernestly to labour that your Kinge should falsly breake his promisse. But what affliction ye sustained by that and other their practises, yourselves can witnesse. For your Borderrs were destroyed, your Nobilitie, for the most parte, were taken prisoners, and your King for sorowe sodenly died.[1]

But these your miseries did nothing move your Preestes to repentance, but rather did inflame them against God, and against the profit of their native realme. For when againe, after the death of your Kinge, your frendship and favours were soght, first by King Henrie, and after his death by King Edward his sonne, and by him who then was chosen Protectour, how craftely, I say, did then your preestes undermine all, ye are not ignorant. When your Governoure, with the consent of the most part of the Nobilitie, had solemnely sworne in the Abbay of Haliroode house, Syr Raphe Sadler then being Embassadour for England, to perfurm the mariage-contract betwixt King Edward and your yonge Quene,[2] and faithfully to stand to everie point concluded and agreed for perfurmance of that union, when seales were interchanged, and the Embassadour dimissed; what sturr, tumult, and sedition raised your Cardinal in that your realme, it is not unknowen; to witt, how that by his craft and malice the realme was devided, the Governour compelled to seke his favour, to violate his oth, and

[1] See vol. i. p. 87-92.

[2] The treaty of this proposed alliance was completed at Greenwich, on the 1st of July, and ratified by the Governor and a Convention of the Nobility, in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, on the 25th of August 1543.

so to becomme infamous for ever. And finally, by the pride of the Papistes was that leage broken.

But what did thereof ensue, Edinburgh, Leith, Dundie, yea, the most part of the realme did fele. Your shippes were stayed, your gooddes were lost, your chefe townes were burned, and, at the end, the beautie of your Realme did fall in the edge of the sworde; the hand of God manifestly feghting against you, because against your solemne oth ye did feght against them, who soght your favours by that godlie conjunction, which before was promised. But still proceaded your ennemies the Clergie, and theire adherentes, in theyr purposed malice. Wonder not that I terme them your ennemies; for albeit they be your countriemen, yet because they seke nothing more then the maintainance of their owne kingdome, which is the power of darckness and the kingdome of Antichrist, they are becomme conjured ennemies to everie citie, nation, or man, that labour to comme to the knolledge of the trueth. That pestilent generation, I say, did not cease till they obteined their purpose, by deliveringe your yonge Quene to the handes of the French King, assuredly mindinge by that meanes to cutt for ever the knot of the frendship that might have ensued betwixt England and Scotland by that godlie conjunction. What the Papistes feared is manifest; for then Christe Jesus being more purely preached in England then at any tyme before, would shortly have suppressed their pride and vaine glorie, and therefore they raged that he should not reigne above them also. But what is like to apprehend you, for because ye did not betymes withstand their most wicked counsils, wise men do consider. How heavie and unpleasant shall the burthen and yock of a Frenchman be to your shoulders and necks, God graunt that experience do not teach you.

But to returne to my former purpose: by all those means rehersed, by his messengers, by the blood of his sainets shed amongest you, by favours and frendship, by warre and the sword, yea, by famin and pestilence, and all other means, hath God your mercifull Father called you to labour in his vineyard; but to this day, alas! we heare not of your humble obedience, but stil ye say with stubburn faces, We will not labour, we will not be bounde to such thraldome, to abide the burthens of the vineyard. Ye think, perchance, I am too sharpe, and that I accuse you more then you deserve. For amongest you many do know the will of your Father, and many make profession of his Ghos-

pel; but consider, Brethren, that it is not enoughe to know the commaundement, and to professe the same in mouthe, but it is necessarie that ye refuse yourselves, your owne pleasures, appetites, and your owne wisdome, if ye shall be judged faithfull labourers in the Lordes vineyard, and that ye beare the burthens togither with your brethren, and suffre heate, and sweate, before ye taste the frutes with them. God will not stand content that ye loke over the hedge and beholde the labours of your brethren; but he requireth that ye put your handes also to your labours, that ye travail continually to pluck upp all unprofitable wedes, albeit in so doing the thorns pricke you to the hard bones: that ye assist your brethren in theyr labours, thoghe it be with the jeopardie of your lifes, the losse of your substance, and displeasure of the hole earthe. Except that thus ye be minded to labour, the Lord of the vineyarde will not acknolledge you for his faithfull servantes.

And because this matter is of weight and greate importance, I will speake somwhat more plainely for your instruction. It is bruted[1] (to the greate comfort of all godlie that heare it) that somme of you, deare Brethren of Scotland, do desire Christ Jesus to be faithfully preached amongest you, which thing if from the heart you desyre, and with godlie wisdome and stowt courrage folow your purpose and enterprise, ye shall be blessed of the Lord for ever. But in the begynnyng, ye must beware that ye folow not the example of your brethren of England, in whose handes, albeit the worke of the Lord appeared to prosper for a time, yet because the eye was not single, we see to our grief the overthrow of the same. They began to plante Christ Jesus in the heartes of the people, and to banish that Romish Antichrist, they did drive owt the fylthie swyne from theyr dennes and holes (I mean the monkes and other such Papisticall vermin from their cloisters and abbayes). This was a good beginning, but, alas! in the one and the other there was great faulte. For the banisshing of that Romish Antichrist was rather by the feare of the lawes pronounced against him by actes of Parliament, then by the livelie preaching of Christ Jesus, and by the discovering of his abominations. And the suppression of the Abbaies did rather smell of avarice then of true religion. Those venemous locustes, which before were holden within their cloisters, were then set abrode to destroy all good and grene herbes. For superstitious freers, ignorant monks, and idle abots, were

[1] "Bruted," reported.

made archbishoppes, bishoppes, persons, vicars, and such as oght to fede the soules of men, who, thus set at libertie, did continually wroot up the Lord's vineyard. And one crafty Gardener, whose name was Stephen,[1] having wolf-lik conditions, did maintain many a wolfe, did sow wicked seed in the garden, and cherished many weedes to deface the vineyard. And his maid Marie, who after was his mastres, now maried to Philip, wanting no wil to wickednes when she was at the weakest, nor stomake to do evill when she gatt the mastrie, did cherishe many weedes. Those two, I say, have so broken the hedges of the same vineyarde, (God so punishing the sinnes of those that oght to have made better provision for the same), that the husbandmen are hanged up, the diggars, dressours, and planters are banished, prisoned, and burned. Such havock is made, that all wild beastes have power to pollute the sanctuarie of the Lorde. O heavens! beholde her crueltie; O earthe! cry for vengeance; O seas and deserte mountains! witnesses of her wickednes, break furthe against this monster of England. But whether do I runne, by the bitternes of my grefe? I must nedes leave thee, O Scotland, after that I have advertised thee of this, that thou folow not the example, as I have said, of England; but in the bowels of Christ Jesus I exhorte thee, that if thou pretendest any reformation in religion, which is the chefe labour of the vineyarde, that thou do it at the first with a single eye and all simplicitie, that from yeare to yeare thou be not compelled to change, as was England, but let thy reformation be full and plaine, according to Goddes holie will and worde, without addition. Let all the plantes which thy heavenly Father hath not planted, be rooted owt at once; let not avarice blind thee, neither yet worldlie wisdome discourage thy hearte; let none beare the name of a teacher that is knowen to be a fosterer of superstition, or any kynde of wickednes. And thou so doing shalt move God of his greate mercie to send unto the faithfull worke men in abundance, to blesse the worke that thou pretendest in the vineyarde, and to preserve thee to the glorie of his own name, and to thy everlasting comforte. Thus must thou, O Scotland, repent thy former inobedience, if that thou wilt be approved of the Lord.

And now do I return to thee, O England: I do liken thee to the seconde sonne in the parable, which answered his father with flattering wordes, saying, "I go, father, but yet he went not at all." For sence the time that I had any remem-

[1] Dr Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.

brance, our heavenlie Father, of his great mercies, hath not ceased to call thee in to his vineyard; and to these late daies, thou hast said alwayes that thou woldest enter and be obedient. In the tyme of King Henrie the Eight, when by Tyndale, Frith, Bylnay,[1] and other his faithfull servantes, God called England to dresse his vineyard, many promised full faire, whome I could name; but what frute folowed? Nothing but bitter grapes, yea, breeres and brambles, the wormewood of avarice, the gall of crueltie, the poison of filthie fornication flowing from head to foote, the contempt of God, and open defense of the Cake idol, by open proclamation to be red in the churches in the stead of Goddes Scriptures. Thus was there no reformation, but a deformation, in the tyme of that tyrant and lecherous monster. The bore I grant was busie wrooting and digging in the earth, and all his pigges that folowed hym. But they soght only for the pleasant frutes that they winded with their longe snowtes; and for their own bellies sake, they wrooted up many weeds; but they turned the grounde so, mingling good and badd togither, swete and sowre, medecine and poyson, they made, I say, such confusion of religion and lawes, that no good thing could grow, but by great miracle, under such Gardners. And no mervail, if it be rightly considered: for this bore raged against God, against Devill, against Christ, and against Antichrist; as the fome that he cast owt against Luther,[2] the razing furth of the name of the Pope, and yet alowing his laws, and his murther of many Christian souldiours, and of many Papistes, do clearly and evidently testifie unto us. Especially the burning of Barnes, Jerome, and Garat, three faithful preachers of the trueth; and hanging the same day for maintainance of the Pope, Powel, Abel, and Fetherstone,[3] doth clearly paynt his beastlynes, that he cared

King Henry his boke against Luther is noted.

[1] William Tyndall, John Frith, and Thomas Bylney, all suffered martyrdom, the first at Filford in Flanders in 1536, the second at London in 1533, the third at Norwich in 1531.

[2] This refers to the work by Henry VIII. of England, entitled, "Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Mart. Lutherum," &c., Londini, 1521, 4to, which obtained from the Pope, Leo X., for the King, his title of "Defender of the Faith."

[3] Dr Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Hierome, Vicar of Stepney, suffered martyrdom together in Smithfield, 30th of July 1541. Foxe, in his Book of Martyrs, has given a full detail of their examinations and fate. He also notices, that in the same place, and on the same day, three Papists, named Powell, Fetherstone, and Abell, were executed for denying the King's supremacy. Such an unusual spectacle, he says, "brought the people into a marvellous admiration and doubt of their religion, which part to follow and take, —when 'all the sayde sixe together,

for no maner of religion. This monstrous bore, for al this, must nedes be called the Head of the Churche in paine of treason, displacing Christ, our onlie Head, who ought alone to have this title.[1]

Wherefore in this point, O England, ye were no better then the Romish Antichrist, who by the same title maketh hymselfe a God, sitteth in mennes consciences, bannysheth the Worde of God, as did your King Henrie, whome ye so magnifie. For in his best time, nothing was hard but the Kinges booke, and the Kinges procedings; the Kinges Homelies in the churches, where Goddes word should onely have bene preached. So made you your King a god, beleving nothing but that he alowed. But how he died, I will not write for shame. I will not name how he turned to his vomet. I will not write your other wickednes of those times; your murthers without measure, adulteries and incestes of your Kinge, his Lordes and Communes. It greveth me to write those evils of my countrie, save onlie that I must nedes declare what frutes were founde in the vineyarde after you promised to worke therin, to move you to repentance, and to justifie Goddes judgements, how grevously so ever he shall plage you hereafter. Wherefore I desire you to call to remembrance your best state under King Edward, when all men with generall consent promised to worke in the vineyarde, and ye shall have cause, I doubt not, to lament your wickednes, that so contemned the voice of God for your owne lustes, for your crueltie, for your covetousnes, that the name of God was by your vanities evill spoken of in other nations. I will name no particulare thinges, because I reverence those tymes, save only the killing of both the Kinges Uncles,[2] and the prisonnement of Hoper[3] for Popishe garments. God graunt you all repentant heartes, for no order nor state did any part of his dutie in those dayes. But to speak of the best, whereof ye use to boast, your religion was

for contrary doctrine, suffered death, three by the fire for the Gospell, the other three by hanging, drawing, and quartering for Popery.'—'Insomuch (says Foxe) that a certayne straunger being there present the same tyme, sayde in these words, *Deus bone, quomodo hic vivunt gentes, hic suspenduntur Papistæ, illic comburuntur Antipapistæ!*'" —(Edit. 1576, p. 1172.)

[1] The above paragraph is quoted by Stapleton in his "Counterblaste to M. Horne's vayne Blast," Lovan, 1567, who makes this remark on the margin, "See how religiously the Protestants speak of their Princes!" (Dibdin's Bibliomania, p. 284.)

[2] Edward VI.—His uncles were Sir Thomas Seymour, Lord Admiral, and Edward Duke of Somerset. See Knox's Admonition, and the notes in vol. iii. pages 277, 278.

[3] Dr John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester.

but an English matyns, patched furthe of the Popes portesse;[1] many thinges were in your great booke supersticious and foolishe; all were driven to a prescripte service lyke the Papistes, that they should thinke theyr dueties discharged, if the nombre were said of psalmes and chapters. Finally, there could no discipline be broght into the Churche, nor correction of maners. I will touche no further abuses, yet willing and desiering you to consider them in your heartes, that knowing your negligence ye may bring furth frutes of repentance. For this I admonishe you, O ye people of England, wheresoever you be scattered or placed, that onles ye do right spedely repent of your former negligence, it is not the Spanyardes only that ye have to feare as roddes of Goddes wrath, but all other nations, France, Turkie, and Denmarke, yea, all creatures shall be armed against you for the contempt of those tymes when your heavenlie Father so mercifullie called you. To what contempt was Goddes worde, and the admonition of his Prophetes, comme in all estates before God did stryke, somme men are not ignorant. The preachers themselves, for the most part, could fynd no fault in religion, but that the Churche was poore and lacked living. Trueth it is, that the Abbay landes, and other such revenues as afore appertained to the Papistical Churche, were most wickedly and ungodly spent; but yet many thinges would have bene reformed before that the kitching had bene better provided for to our Prelates in England. It was most evident, that many of you, under the cloke of religion, served your own bellies; somme were so busie to heap benefice upon benefice, somme to labour in Parliament for purchesing of lands, that the tyme was small which coulde be founde for the reformation of abuses, and very litle which was spent upon the feeding of your flockes. I nede not now to examine particular crimes of preachers. Only I say, that the Ghospell was so lightly esteemed, that the most part of men thoght rather that God should bow and obey to theyr appetites, then that they should be subject to his holie commaundementes. For the communes did continew in malice and rebellion, in craft and subtiltie, notwithstanding all lawes that could be devised for reformation of abuses.[2] The merchants had their own soules to sell for gaines; the gentlemen were becomme Nemrods and gyants; and the nobilitie and counsile would suffer no rebukes of God's messen-

[1] "Portesse," or Portiforium, a manual of Prayers used in the Roman Catholic Church.

[2] See Knox's Godly Letter, vol. iii. p. 175-177.

gers, thogh theyr offenses were never so manifest. Let those that preached in the Court, the Lent before King Edward deceased, speak theyr conscience and accuse me if I lie; yea, let a writing, written by that miserable man, then Duke of Northumberland,[1] to Master Harlow, for that time Byshoppe of Harford,[2] be broght to lighte, and it shall testifie that he ashamed not to say, That the libertie of the preachers tonges would cause the Counsile and Nobilitie to ryse uppe against them, for they could not suffer so to be intreated. These were the frutes even in the tyme of harvest, a litle before the winter came. And of the tyme of Marie, what should I write? England is now so miserable that no penne can paynt it. It ceaseth to be in the nomber of children, because it openly dispiteth God the Father. It hath cast off the trueth knowen and confessed and foloweth lies and errours, which once it detested. It buyldeth the buylding which it once destroyed; it raiseth up the idols which once were there confounded; it murthereth the sainctes; it mainteineth Baal's prophetes by the commaunde ment of Jesabel. Such are the evil husbandes that now haunte the vineyard, so that this is true that our Saviour Christ saieth, "The Lord hymselfe hath planted a faire vineyard, he hedged it round about, and buylded a toure, &c. And when the tyme of the frute drew nere, he sent his servants to the tilmen to receyve the frutes thereof; but they caught his servantes, they bett one, they killed an other, and stoned others. Againe he sent other servantes mo, and they served them like wise."

What nede any exposition to applie this unto England? All is fulfilled that is spoken in that parable, onles they do waite for the Sonne hymselfe for to comme, that they may handle hym lykewise as they have done his servantes. But all is one. Mat. 25. saieth our Saviour Christ, "That which ye do to one of these litle ones, the same ye do to me," be it good or bad. "Why doest thou persecute me?" saieth Christ to Saul, when he was, as he now is, at the right hand of God his Father in the heavens. Therefore they persecute, they banishe, they burne Christ the Sonne of God in his membres. The judgement therefore now remaineth, which the wicked then gave against themselves, that "The Lord of the vineyarde will cruelly destroy those evill persons, and will let furth his vineyarde unto

[1] See Knox's Admonition, vol. iii. pages 169, 278.

[2] John Harley was consecrated Bishop of Hereford, 26th May 1553. He was deprived in the following year, and died in 1557.

other husbandes." And the confirmation of the same by the sentence of the chefe judge, that "The kingdome of God shall be taken from such, and geven to a people that shall bringe furth the frutes thereof."

The which judgements is begunne in Englande, and shortly, alas! will be fully executed and finished without right spedie repentance. Somme hope is in Scotland, which hath not shewed furth any such crueltie, and hath not contemned the knowen treasures; but lyke wanton children, have contemned the commaundement of theyr father, partlie of frailtie, partely of ignorance. But Englande, the servante that knew the will of his Lord and Maister, which was once lightened with most clere beames, which hath tasted of the swetnes of the Worde of God, and of the joyes of the worlde to come, which hath abjured Antichrist and all idolatrie, which hath boasted to professe Christ with great boldnes before all the worlde, must be beaten with many stripes, it can not be avoided.

But to be shorte, this only remaineth for bothe these Nations, that they repent and returne into the vineyarde with the fyrst sonne. For neither shall ignorance excuse any land or nation, as is playne in the fyrst to the Romanes; neither can any people be receyved without the frutes of repentance, as John Baptist proclaimeth.

The frutes of repentance I call, not only to know your synnes, and to lament them, but to amend your lives, and to make streght the Lordes pathes by resisting Satan and synne, and obeying God in doing the workes of righteousnes, and executing Goddes preceptes and judgementes, so long amongest you contemned. "For even now is the axe put to the roote of the tree, so that everie tree that bringeth not furthe goode frute shalbe hewen downe and cast into the fier. The Lord hath now his fanne in his hande, and will purge his flore, and gather the wheate into his garner, but will burne the chaffe with unquenchable fier." Mat. 3.

Repent therefore, whiles ye have tyme, before ye be fanned, hewen downe, and fiered. When I do behold both your two Realmes, I see the fanne, I see the axe. But this I am suer is the begynning of your ruine, that ye do mary with strangers, and give your power to forraine nations, such as feare not God, but are open idolaters, blasphemers, persecutors of the saincts of God, that careth neither for heaven nor hell, God nor Devill, so that they may wynne landes, townes, and countries. God shall hew you downe by them therefore, as he hath done other

nations by like means and causes, and they shall fanne you furthe of your own huskes and homes, to make you vagabondes and beggars, and after possesse your landes and goods, as God threatned by Moses, as was before alledged. Trust not to thy strengthe afterwarde when thy ennemy is settled, if thou have no strengthe to resist his begynnynges, no more then thou canst overcome a canker that hath overrunne many members. That God would not have you to truste to your force of men, townes, or castels, there is enough examples, that you bothe have felt to your grefe. And I can not write without murnyng. For how litle avayled the multitude and stowt courage of you (dear Brethren of Scotland) att Musselburgh or Pinkefield,[1] the carcases, alas! of many thousands who that day fell in the edge of the sworde may teach you. And how vaine be all strengthes (be they judged never so stronge or inexpugnable) lett Calice lately taken[2] admonish you. But I do leave such examples to your considerations to teache you to call to the livinge Lord, who offereth hymselfe as a mercifull Father unto you, still calling you to repentance by wordes, by writinges, and most gentle corrections, if ye will not be harde harted.

Yet here have we to lament the miserable state of mankynde. which is so seduced by the subtile serpent, that he can not know his miserie when he is admonished, nor perceave his perdition when it draweth so nere. When the servantes of God set furthe his trueth, they are charged to trouble realmes and countries, as was Elias: when they warne men not to joyne handes with wicked kinges and princes, they are counted traitours, as was Esaias and Jeremias. Such is mannes malice. But if there be a God that is fyrst of all to be soght, and without whome nothing can be profitable unto us, but without hym all thinges are unhappie and accursed: if the kingdome of God and the righteousnes thereof must fyrst be soght, and then all thinges shall be ministred: if our heavenlie Kinge must before man be obeyed, then all such doctrine as calleth us from man to God is easie to be perceaved, and ought not to be resisted. Wherefore I do admonish and exhorte you bothe in the name of the livinge God, that howsoever you have hitherto shewed yourselves the servants of men to beare and to flatter with the

[1] Referring to the disasters, during the Duke of Somerset's Expedition into Scotland, in August 1547, at the field of Pinkie, near Musselburgh, or six miles to the east of Edinburgh.

[2] The town of Calais, so long possessed by the English, was besieged and taken by the Duke of Guise, in January 1558.

worlde, that now ye learne, in Goddes cause, to despise the faces of men, to bend yourselves against this wicked world, neither regarding the visars of honours, vaine titles, nor dignities, any further then they seke God his onelie glorie. For his glorie will he not suffer to be contemned for any cause. No, he will powre contempt on those Princes that strive against his trueth, but those that glorifie hym will he glorifie. And what kingdome, realme, or nation, so ever it be, that will not seke to sanctifie his name, they shall in the day of Goddes grevous visitation, which is now at hand, be utterly confounded, theyr strength shalbe straw, theyr honours shall be shame, and al their idolatrous Preestes, in whose lies they delyte, togither with their idols, with whome they are bewitched, shall be stubble and brymstone to burne togither, when the wrathe of the Lorde of hostes shall set them on fier. The Preestes shall not save theyr goddes, nor the goddes their worshippers, but both alike accursed shall then perish for ever. And thoghe our mercifull Father hathe longe suffred heretofore in the tyme of ignorance, yet now in the ende of the world he calleth all people so planely by his Worde to repentance, that he must nedes take spedie vengeance if his callinge be contemned; especially because the day can not longe be delayed, wherein He hath determined to judge all people and nations of the whole world, and to put an end to wickednes.

Wherefore to conclude, behold, your onlie remedie remaineth, to repent your tyme of ignorance, of stubburnnes, of crueltie, of idolatrie, wherein ye have so long continued. And now with all diligence to seke for knolledge of the Worde of God, and openly to professe the Ghospell, which is the power of God, whereof ye ought not to be ashamed. Cease at the last from your olde stubburnnes, wherbie ye have deserved vengeance, and labour in the vineyarde with all mekenes, that ye may receave mercie and grace. Cease from your crueltie against Christes membres, and learne to suffer for Christes sake, if ye will be true Christians. Banishe all idolatrie and Popishe superstition from amongest you, els can ye have no parte in Christes kingdome, no more then Christ can be partaker with Antichrist. Pray to the Lorde of hostes and armies to give you the courage, strengthe, and meanes. The Lord's arme is not shortened now, no more then of olde. Be stronge therefore in the Lord for the defence of the trueth, thogh all the worlde ryse against itt. Now when the battaile is fierce against the livinge God for dead idols, (even for the vile wafer-cake, the

most vaine idol that ever was,) against the Ghospel of Christe for the inventions of Antichrist, against Christes membres for Popishe ceremonies, can any of you that wilbe compted God's children styll halt of bothe handes! If that cake baked in yron tonges, not able to abyde a blast of winde, be the eternal God, folow it; but if He only be God that hath created the heavens, abhorre suche vile idols that have no force to save themselves. If Christes Ghospel and doctrine be sufficient to salvation, and by receaving of it ye are called Christians, away with all Antichristes inventions brought into your Romish churches. If you hope to have any parte with Christ, cherishe his membres, and maintaine them against theire ennemies the Papistes and the Byshoppe of Rome, the verie Antichriste. What strength, what force, what power, what counsil so ever ye have of God, bende all to this ende and purpose, as ye wyll make answere to your heavenly King for the talent receaved. If you have no regarde of those principal pointes, which only or chiefly should be before your eyes, go to with your forraine mariages, joyne France to Scotland, and Spayne to England, if it be possible, yet shall ye all be confounded. The Lord shall plage you one with an other untill you be consumed; your strength, wherein ye trust, shall be shaken to naught, your courrage shalbe cowardise, your wisdom shall be folie, and the Lord of hostes, by your ruine and destruction, will be renowned and praised, and his just judgements through owt the earth shall be honoured and feared. Where of the contrarie, if you will maintaine God's trueth in the earthe, he will receave you as his children into the heavens; if you confesse his Christe before this wicked generation, Christ shall confesse you before his Father in the heavens, in the presence of his angels. But if you persiste stubburnly to banishe Goddes worde, and his sonne Christ in his membres, furth of your earthlie kyngdomes, how can ye loke for any parte in his heavenlie kingdome? muche more if ye continue to murther his messingers, what can ye loke for emongst yourselves, but that ye shoulde digge one in another's bellie to be your own murtherers? So that if ye wil stil remaine after all these admonitions in your murthers and idolatries, be suer that in this worlde ye shall have enoghe of your idolatries, and you shalbe filled with blooddy murthers, and in the end ye shall be judged without the gates of the hevenlie Jerusalem, amongest the dogges, enchaunters, hooremongers, and murtherers, and idolaters, with all those that loveth lies. But he that overcommeth all these shall inherit all thinges,

and "I will be his God, saieth the Lord, and he shall be my sonne. Where as the fearefull in God's cause, the unbeleving, the abominable, the murtherers, hooremongers, sorcerers, and idolaters, shall have their parte in the lake that burneth with fier and brymstone." Revel. 21.

Lo, here is the choise of life and deathe, of miserie and welthe, offred unto you by God's mercies, and the meanes how yow may winne Goddes favour opened, wherebie onely ye may prevaile against your ennemies. God graunte you heartes to answer as the people did to Josua, offering the lyke choyse: "God forbyd (say they) that we shoulde forsake God; we will serve the Lord our God and obey his voice, for he is our God." Josu. 24.

And we, your banished Brethren, by the power of God to provoke you forward, will thus pronounce with Josua, "That we and our families will serve the Lorde God, thoghe all nations runne to idols," thoghe all people do persecute us. We know that Satan hathe but a shorte tyme to rage, and that Christe our Captaine right spedely will crowne his souldiours, to whome, as he is the eternal God with his Father, be all honour and glorie for ever and ever. So be it.

PSALME OF DAVID XCIIII.,

TURNED IN TO METRE, BY W. KETHE.

[WILLIAM KETHE is usually supposed to have been a native of Scotland, and his name evidently denotes a Scottish extraction. He and his wife arrived in Geneva in November 1556. Whether he held any preferment in England before his exile, has not been ascertained. It is said he assisted in the translation of the Geneva Bible, first printed in the year 1560. In the edition of "Fourscore and seven Psalmes of David in English metre, by Thomas Sternholde and others. [Geneva!] M.D.LXJ." 12mo, twenty-five are by Kethe. These are included in the copies of the Psalter, as received by the Church of Scotland in 1565; but only twelve of them were retained in the same collection prepared by Hopkins for the English Church in 1562. In the numerous editions printed between 1565 and 1648, some verbal alterations in this version of the 94th Psalm occur, but it is not necessary to point them out. In the "Brief Discourse of the Troubles at Frankfort," we find, that after the death of Queen Mary, Kethe was sent on a mission to the English churches in different parts of Germany and Helvetia for effecting a reconciliation. As an author, his name is connected with a popular ballad against Popery, *Tye thy mare, Tom boye*, and another, *Of Misrules contending*. "William Kethe his Seeing Glasse, sent to the Nobles and Gentlemen in England," is a prose tract, probably printed at Geneva about 1557. I have never seen a perfect copy: it is evidently the same work that Tanner describes as "*Perspectivam cum prece Danielis, metro, ad Magnates Angliæ.*" He has some verses as an address "To the Reader," subjoined to Goodman on Obedience, 1558. The only other printed work with which his name is connected, is "A Sermon made at Blanford Forum, in the Countie of Dorset, on Wensday the 17. of Januarij last past, at the Session holden there, &c., by William Kethe, Minister and Preacher of Gods Word. 1571. At London, printed by John Daye," 12mo. It is dated at Childockford, 29th January 1570-[1], and dedicated to Ambrose, Earl of Warwicke, who was his patron. It is recorded, that in the year 1563, "The Earl of Warwick at his being in Newhaven [now Havre de Grace], had in dede with him certaine ministers for a time, but after the cannon came and began to roare, and the plague off pestilence so terriblie to rage, then (I weene) not a minister there left, but Master Kethe alone. And when as meanes were made to have mo ministers over, to aide the said Kethe (who had so muche to doo, what with preaching, and visitinge the poor sicke souldiers, which were in no small nombers), there coulde not be fonde (as that right noble Erle can uppon his honor testifie) so muche as one which could be brought to so muche conformitie, as to subscribe to any suche service off the Queens Majestie."—(Brief Discourse, &c., p. cxcvi.) Kethe also accompanied the Earl of Warwick, in 1569, when "sent to subdue the Popish rebells in the North partes."—(Ib.) The time of his death is uncertain.]

O LORDE, sith vengeance doth to thee,
and to none els belong:
Now showe thy self, O Lorde oure God,
with spede revenge oure wronge.

Arise, thow great Judge of the worlde,
and have at length regarde,
That as the prowde deserve and do,
thow wilt them so rewarde.

How longe, O Lord, shall wicked men
triumphe thy flock to slea?
Yea, Lorde, how longe? For they triumphe
as thoghe, who now but they.

How longe shall wicked doers speake?
their great disdaine we se,
Whose boasting prowd doth seem to threat
no speach but theirs to be.

O Lorde, they smite thy people downe,
not sparing yonge or olde:
Thine heritage they so torment,
as strange is to beholde.

The widdowe and the stranger both
they murther cruelly;
The fatherlesse they put to death,
and cause they know none why.

And yet saye they, Tushe, tushe, the Lorde
shall not beholde this dede,
Ne yet will Jacob's God revolve
the thinges by us decreed.

But now take hede, ye men unwise,
amonge the folk that dwell:
Ye fooles, I saye, when will ye waye
or understand this well?

He that the eare did plant and place,
shall he be slowe to heare?
Or he that made the eye to see,
shall he not see most clere?

Or he that whipte the hethen folke
and knolledge teacheth men,
To nurture such as went astraye,
shall he not punishe then?

The Lorde oure God, who man did frame,
his very thoghts doth knowe,
And that they are but vile and vaine,
to him is knowne also.

But blessed is that man, O Lorde,
whom thou doest bringe in awe,
And teacheste him by this thy rodd
to love and feare thy lawe.

That patience thou mayste him geve
in tyme of troubles great,
Untill the pitt be digged up
th' ungodly for to eate.

For why, the Lorde will never faylo
his people whiche him love:
Ne yet forsake his heritaunce,
whiche he doth still approve.

Till righteousnes to judgement turne,
as it must be in dede,
And such as be full true in hearte,
to folowe it with spede.

Who now will up and rise with me
against this wycked bande?
Or who against these workers ill,
on my parte stoute will stande?

If that the Lorde had not me holpt,
doutelesse it had bene done,
To witt, my soule in silence broght,
and so my foes had wonne.

But thogh my foote did swiftly slide,
yet when I did it tell,
Thy mercie, Lord, so helde me up,
that I therewith not fell.

For in the heapes of sorrowes sharpe,
that did my hearte oppresse,
Thy comfortes were to me so greate,
they did my soule refreshe.

Wilt thow, vaine man, have ought to do
with that most wicked chaire,
That museth mischief as a lawe
with out remorse or feare?

Against the soules of righteous men
they all with spede convent,
And there the giltlesse blood condemne,
with one most vile consent.

But my refuge is to the Lorde,
in all these daungers deepe,
And God the strength is of my truste,
who allwaies dothe me keepe.

He shall rewarde their wickednesse,
and in their wrathe them kill,
Yea, them destroye shall God our Lorde,
for he bothe can and will.

FINIS.

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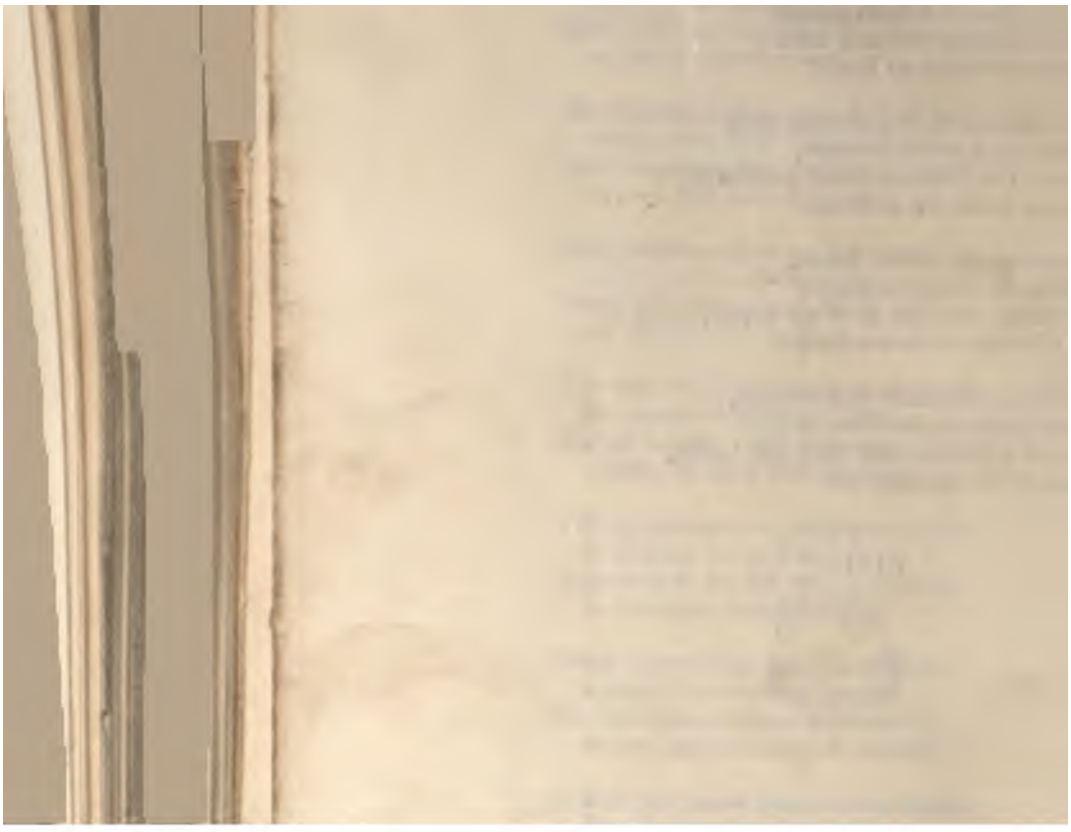

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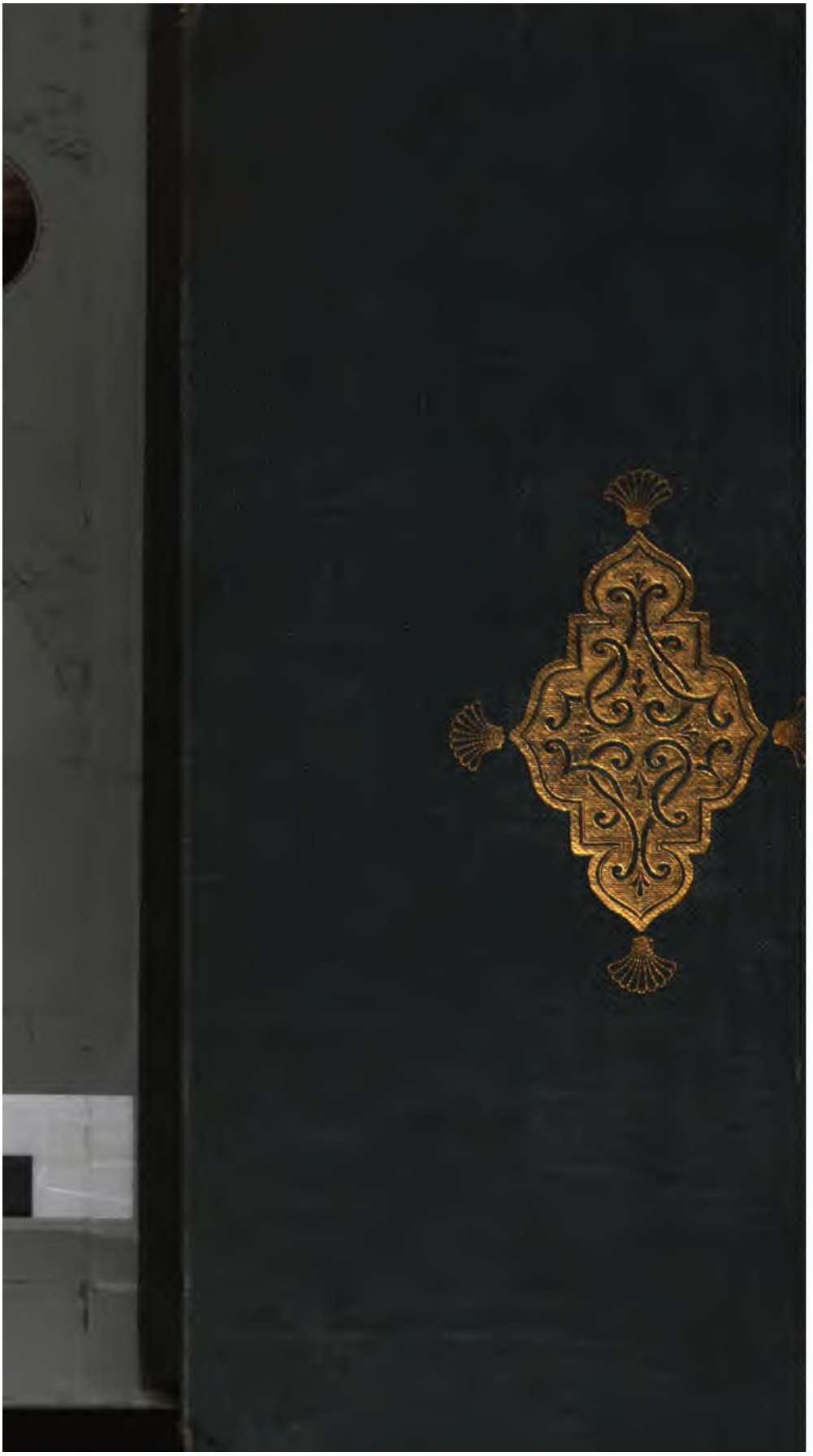
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